Urban Social Movements and Their Struggles Towards the 'Right to the City'.

Protest and Creativity as Determinant Features of Democratic Cities in Germany and Brazil.

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades doctor rerum naturalium (Dr. rer. nat.)

vorgelegt dem Rat der Chemisch-Geowissenschaftlichen Fakultät
der Friedlich-Schiller-Universität Jena
von M. Sc. Hiram Souza Fernandes
geboren am 06.05.1985 in Cuiabá – Brasilien

Gutachter:

1. Prof. Dr. Benno Werlen, Lehrstuhl f. Sozialgeographie, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

2. Prof. Dr. Wendel Henrique Baumgartner, Universidade Federal da Bahia - Brasilien

Tag der Verteidigung: 24.10.2018

Zusammenfassung

Das Hauptziel dieser Doktorarbeit ist es, die geographischen Konstruktionen von Subjekten und sozialen Akteuren, die zu Gruppen und Kollektiven gehören, in Bezug auf die Produktionsprozesse des urbanen Raums, zu verstehen. Diese Gruppen, die hier als urbane soziale Bewegungen verstanden werden, haben das Ziel, sich ein gerechtes und egalitäres städtisches Leben zu erkämpfen. Dieser Kampf wird hier durch die Idee des „Rechts auf Stadt" repräsentiert. Dieses Konzept wurde erstmals von dem französischen Soziologen Henri Lefebvre nach den Ereignissen und Demonstrationen im Mai 1968 in mehreren europäischen Städten, die einen Meilenstein in der Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts dargestellt haben, ausgearbeitet. Diese Bewegungen suchten unter anderem nach Lösungen für die existenzielle Krise, die vor allem in städtischen Umgebungen herrschte und die das auf den Idealen des keynesianischen Staates basierende politisch-ökonomische System nicht mehr lösen konnte. Der Staat wurde zunehmend geschwächt und seine Unfähigkeit, die Probleme der Bevölkerung zu lösen, gibt der Marktwirtschaft – durch das Finanzkapital – die Macht, die Organisation der Gesellschaft zu verwalten und zu lenken. Hierin beginnt die Ära der Vorherrschaft des Kapitals, der Marktwirtschaft und damit der Privatinitiative, die von dem als Neoliberalismus bekannten Diskurs von Wohlstand und Freiheit getragen wird. Mit der fortschreitenden Entwicklung des Neoliberalismus sowie den Prozessen der Globalisierung und Urbanisierung verschärften sich die Probleme des urbanen Lebens. Segregation, Fragmentierung, Armut, Gewalt, Hoffnungslosigkeit und Hilflosigkeit bilden den lebensweltlichen Hintergrund für einen größeren Teil der Menschheit am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts und in diesen frühen Jahren des 21. Jahrhunderts.

Urbane soziale Bewegungen waren in dieser Zeit der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts und Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts immer in bemerkenswerter Weise präsent und konstituierten sich als unentbehrliche soziale Akteure bei der Gestaltung der Gesellschaft. Jedoch wurden diese sozialen Bewegungen in einigen regionalen Kontexten, wie Lateinamerika, und in jüngerer Zeit in Nordafrika, von diktatorischen Regimen brutal unterdrückt und gewaltsam bekämpft. Mit der Stagnation der Wirtschaft und der Unhaltbarkeit der existenziellen urbanen Krise, die über den Globus zog, begann der Neoliberalismus zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts zusammenzubrechen, wodurch die Rolle der sozialen Bewegungen in diesem Zusammenhang immer wichtiger wird. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass sowohl der Staat als auch die Marktwirtschaft es versäumt haben, die Gesellschaft zu führen, fordern diese urbanen sozialen Bewegungen nun die Kontrolle und das Management ihres eigenen Lebens und Schicksals zurück. Zu diesem Zweck mussten diese Bewegungen sich jedoch durch neue Taktiken, neue Strategien und die Anpassung alter Techniken an den Einsatz neuer Techniken neu erfinden. Dies ist daher der Kern dieser Forschung: die Rolle und die neuen Handlungsstrategien dieser Gruppen und sozialen Kollektive zu verstehen und darüber nachzudenken, wie der Stadtraum von diesen gesellschaftlichen Akteuren in der heutigen Welt produziert und konstruiert wird. Angesichts des wachsenden Einflusses von Globalisierungsprozessen auf die heutige Gesellschaft und ihrer Auswirkungen auf die lokale Ebene, werden diese Bewegungen in zwei unterschiedlichen urbanen Kontexten analysiert: die Städte Recife in Brasilien und Hamburg in Deutschland.

Contents

Introduction

From the earliest times of civilization, cities, towns, and other rudimentary forms of settlements have served various purposes, such as commerce, defense, stockpiling, and the centralization of power. Later, the industrial revolution—basically at the end of the eighteenth century—led to massive urbanization and the rise of new large cities. As new opportunities were generated in these cities—attracting a large number of migrants from rural communities—a new urban way of life that was directly linked to the industrial production was thus characterized. Therefore, the urbanization process involves a shift in which urbanization ceases to be primarily induced by industrialization, to become an inducer of a new reality, in which the phenomenon goes beyond the factory and the production process, to permeate life in its multiple dimensions. It is a shift that amplifies and surpasses the notion of industrial production, to a moment in which the reproduction of capitalist development takes place also in other spheres, such as the everyday life. Herein, the beginning of the phenomenon of the urbanization of the society is thus epitomized and is—in our contemporary times—already a reality, as more than 3.9 billion people[1]—something around 54% of the world population—are living in urban areas today.

It is important to emphasize that the new aspects of the contemporary urbanization in times of the digital revolution reveal themselves as a complex socio-spatial problem, in which new themes are juxtaposed, or there is a deepening of existing issues, which overcomes/creates new contradictions that can be understood as an invitation to reflection. Hence, urbanization requires new explanatory content in the face of the breakthrough of cities, the implosion of urban centers, and radical changes in the new socio-spatial relations that inhabitants of cities establish with one another in the public space and in everyday life. This is what Benno Werlen (2017) refers to as "social relations of space" that are evident in the current and historical possibilities and impossibilities of the sociogeographical conditions of social coexistence. For Werlen, "social relations of space determine the *modi operandi* (for acting over distance), based on the corporeal social practices that constructed sociocultural realities can take place" (ibid. 49). Based on this amalgam of social relations of space, it is necessary to think of the urban phenomenon in its totality, that is, its mutual and dialectical relations with the globalization process and the capitalist development. Thus, the urbanization of society is also a possibility opened by the urbanization process itself, which tends to expand—spatially and socially—on the planet, producing specific kinds of space and ways of life marked by relations that tend to overlap relationships of traditional life forms. Therefore, the urban

[1] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, (ST/ESA/SER.A/366).

reality is an "unfinished" phenomenon in a constant process of production and at the same time geared towards the global.

The globalization process is, consequently, the most prominent expression of rapid changes of geographical living conditions with the ongoing digital revolution. On the one hand, globalization has brought and is bringing far-flung places and people into ever-closer contact: new kinds of communities and new forms of identity, human action, and therefore, of social-spatial relations are emerging at an accelerating pace. On the other hand, however, globalization imposes itself for a great part of humanity as an "industry of iniquities" (Santos 2015 [2000]) that is today characteristic of urban contexts. Poverty[2], unemployment, and underemployment become chronic issues, and consumerism is increasingly considered as a source of happiness (Easterlin 1974). Milton Santos (2015 [2000]), observes these two different approaches about the globalization processes: whilst he advocates against the view of the world as "they" made us see—"the globalization as a fable"—he alternatively spreads around the critical approach that enables us to see the world as it really is: "the globalization as a perversity" (Santos 2015 [2000], p.19).[3]

Cities are the places in the contemporary world, where it is more obvious to identify some elements of the concepts of both above-mentioned perspectives of globalization. Paul Knox and Steven Pinch (2007) state that a notable effect of globalization is that it has led to the emergence of the so-called "global cities" (Sassen 1991). Saskia Sassen argues that the main feature of global cities is social polarization. Globalization as perversity speaks for itself when we think about urban social inequalities. Crowded subways, trams, and buses carrying workers on their way home during rush hour competing for space on the streets with armored SUVs with no more than, if at all, two passengers, are such a reliable portrait of (mega)cities nowadays. Knox and Pinch (2007), however, argue that although only a few cities in the world could claim the status of a global city as a command centrality in the world economy, as described by Sassen, there is a sense in which "all urban centers are now global for they are all affected by events and decisions outside of their boundaries" (Knox and Pinch 2007, p. 36). Furthermore, they are all engaged in a vehement competition between themselves to attract investment of capitals into their areas of influence in regard to the capitalist urban development.

In relation to the general problem constellation sketched above, which refers to everyday urban life issues in the context of a globalized world, I present this Ph.D. thesis which is focused on unveiling how urban subjects develop their strategies for a more democratic and egalitarian city. Besides being aligned with a problem that is becoming

---

2 According to the *UN 2016 – The Sustainable Development Goals Report*, around thirteen percent of the world population is living under extreme poverty conditions in 2012. If considered separately, poverty remains widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, where more than forty percent of people having lived on less than $1.90 a day in 2012.

3 "A globalização como uma perversidade" (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 19).

increasingly prominent in the social sciences, this research theme is also consonant with my personal aspirations and motivations to contribute to scientific research. The former President of Uruguay, Pepe Mujica, once claimed that "…you give up the fight by giving up the dream. Fighting, dreaming, being down on the ground and confronting reality: that's what gives meaning to existence".[4] In this regard, one of my biggest ambitions is to contribute—in the way I am able to—to the positive transformation of society, that is, to the reduction of social and economic inequality between people around the world. It may sound pretentious but the intentions and motivations of the present work are to contribute to the expansion of the intellectual and scientific production and the advances in social sciences that could—in any way—help to improve the conditions of our lives. Taking into account that cities emerged from the social and geographical concentration of surplus product—which makes the urbanization process a class phenomenon that influences the lives of more than the half of the world population—this work has its analysis focused on people's life problems in urban areas.

David Harvey (2008) claims that since that they exist, cities arise from the social and geographic concentration of overproduction and, therefore, of capital surpluses. "Urbanization has always been a class phenomenon since surpluses are extracted from somewhere or somebody, while the control over their disbursement typically lies in a few hands" (Harvey 2008, p. 24). This is the general mechanism of capitalism, and in the case of urbanization processes, there is a more complex dynamic in performance. Capitalism is grounded, as Karl Marx (1867) reminds us, on the eternal cycle of the search of capital gains, which are reinvested to generate more capital gains and so on. Nevertheless, to achieve these profits, capitalists must generate a surplus of production. This means that capitalism is always generating overproduction that is demanded by the urbanization process. The opposite relation is also true. Capitalism needs urbanization processes to absorb overproduction that it never stops to generate. In such a way, an intimate connection arises between the development of capitalism and urbanization.

Hence, this intimate and bilateral relation between the capitalist processes of absorption of capital surpluses and the urbanization process in times of globalization can be considered as the root of a so-called devastating crisis of the everyday life in the city (Harvey 2012a, p.11). With these contributions, Harvey has been considered one of the most important names in the development of the Critical/Marxist Geography and has forged the concept and idea of the "neoliberal city." The strong relation between cities and neoliberal policies are also for Jason Hackworth (2010) intrinsically connected, for he claims that "cities are the sites of both the acutest articulation of neoliberalism and its most acute opposition." (Hackworth 2010, p. xii). The neoliberal urban development represents a strong facet of the globalization process nowadays. For a better comprehension about the elements behind the idea of the neoliberal city, however,

[4] Human – The Movie. Yann Arthus-Bertrand. France 2015.

it is important to understand its historical development. Harvey (2008) points out that the emergence and the development of the neoliberal city are marked by the "urban revolutions," considered as catapults for the expansion of the urbanization process under capitalism and their bilateral relation mentioned before.

The neoliberal city is characterized by the excessive commercialization of its public spaces and by the concentration of public investments of urban infrastructure on the middle class or high-standard neighborhoods. These are areas where capitalism finds fertile ground for its mechanism of survival and self-replication of absorption and production of capital surpluses through urbanization. This process, as it will be further discussed within this work, is repeated, reinventing itself over the time through the "urban revolutions." Started in the mid-nineteenth century in Paris through what could be called the beginning of modern urbanization with Baron Haussmann's[5] Urban Renovation, passing through the urban reforms of North-American cities initiated by the plans of New York's most famous "urban planner", Robert Moses[6], until the globalization of the economy of the 1970's and the need for expansion of new consumer markets and cheaper labor forces founded mostly in Asia and Latin America. In our current days of neoliberal globalization, urbanization processes find their mechanism of absorption of capitalist overproduction, among other things, on the realization of Mega-Events such as the Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. A commonplace in the course of this historical process is the generation of inequalities, fragmentation and social polarization in urban space.

However, this intrinsic relation between capitalism and the processes of urbanization in times of globalization also generates cities' probably most fascinating feature: their diversity and plurality that arise from human action. Cities are the place of diversified problems but also creative solutions; colors, sounds, smells, desires, and dreams. With such multiple 'faces', it is a big challenge to struggle and contribute for the reparation of urban problems, ensuring and fighting for a more humane, sustainable, and democratic city for all, made by and for the people, which would fulfill the notion of the "Right to the City."

As well as some of basic human rights[7], such as the right to liberty, the right to equality, the right to water and sanitation, the right to education, the right to food and

---

5 Georges-Eugène Haussmann, commonly known as Baron Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine Department of France and Paris Urban Planner. He was chosen by Emperor Napoleon III to carry out a massive urban renewal program of new boulevards, parks, and public works that is commonly referred to as Haussmann's renovation of Paris (Malet 1973).

6 Robert Moses was known as the "master builder" of mid-20th century New York City, Long Island, Rockland County, and Westchester County. He is sometimes compared to Baron Haussmann of Second Empire Paris, and was one of the most polarizing figures in the history of urban development in the United States. His decisions favoring highways over public transit helped create the modern suburbs of Long Island and influenced a generation of engineers, architects, and urban planners who spread his philosophies across the nation despite his not having trained in those professions. (Berman 2000).

7 UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948. (available at: http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights)

the right to housing (just to mention some), the right to the city should have also be considered as a human right to struggle for. Taken from a broader perspective, the right to the city could encompass all these human rights mentioned above. It is justified by lived-in conditions of injustice in our experience of the contemporary city, generated by an unequal process of urbanization under capitalism in times of globalization. Particularly, the experience of the marginalized and oppressed, whose urban life events are far much bitterer and more uneven than for those living in more harmonious conditions in our late-modern capitalist society. In other words, the right to the city could be understood as the right to dignified urban life.

Since the 1990s, the right to the city has reached the status of a trending concept, idea, and slogan, not only throughout the academic fields of geography, sociology, and architecture/urbanism but also within urban social movements and political parties (mostly left-wing) and through the media channels and arts scene. The idea of the right to the city, which I consider as a milestone concerning the academic contribution in this field, was proposed by the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who released in 1968 one of his seminal works concerning the urban phenomena, "Le droit à la ville"—*The right to the city*. His work inspired important contributions in the field of Human Geography and Urban Sociology, not only through North-American tradition with Harvey (1973, 1985, 1998, 2008, and 2012a) but also in German-speaking countries with Holm (2011, 2014a, and 2014b), Schmid (2005) and Mullis (2014, 2015, and 2016) and in Latin America with the far-reaching contributions of Souza (2001, 2012, and 2015), Baumgartner (2009), Serpa (2005 and 2007), and Ciccolella (2010 and 2014).

This right is, according to Harvey (2012a), referring to the idea developed by Lefebvre, at the same time, a complaint and a demand. The complaint was an answer to the before mentioned existential pain of a devastating crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was, actually, a command to face the crisis and to create an alternative urban life that would be less alienated, more meaningful and funnier, but also contradictory and dialectical, as well as open to the future, possibilities, struggles and human action (Harvey 2012a, p. 11). Lefebvre was profoundly sensible to all of that. That is why the notion of the right to the city has its influence on the idea of a psychogeography of the city and everyday life, molded by the movement of the Situationist International (ibid. 12). Demanding the right to the city is therefore equivalent to claim for some power of construction and decision concerning the processes of urbanization over the way that our cities are mainly produced and reproduced, which means with the participation of those individuals and social groups most affected by the crisis of everyday urban life. Furthermore, it is taken for granted that it must be realized through a radical and fundamental manner, because, at the core, the idea of the right to the city in our days proposes the confrontation against neoliberal market logics and the dominant way of the legitimacy of state action.

For this reason, Harvey (2012a) reinforces that the resurgence of the right to the city in the last decade does not have its roots in the intellectual legacy of Lefebvre—however important this legacy may be—or on any academic caprice or trend. Instead, it is much more rooted in the struggles and construction of the streets and neighborhoods by the urban social movements as a 'yell for help' and support of the oppressed in times of despair (ibid. 15). Herein urban social movements play a crucial role as main actors towards the right to the city and therefore to the constitution of the "rebel cities" (ibid.).

In this sense, I have designed the presented research in order to understand the ways in which urban social movements demand for the right to the city and fight for a democratic urban life—producing and reproducing social spatialities—in two different empirical urban contexts: the city of Recife in Brazil and the city of Hamburg in Germany. It is important at this point to emphasize that, on defining these empirical cases, I intend to overcome the dichotomous and traditional spatial-centered geographical analysis (north – south / developed country – emerging economy). I pursue, instead of that, a postmodern, dialectical, and liberating socio-geographical approach based on two different perspectives, namely the Lefebvre's theory on the "production of space" (Lefebvre 1991a) and Benno Werlen's theory focused on action as the starting point of geography making (Werlen 1993, 2000a, 2007, 2008, and 2010). Both perspectives acknowledge and understand *human action* as the central aspect of the geographic research and, therefore, of the production of space and the construction of social spatialities.

Hence, Recife and Hamburg were not arbitrarily chosen for this research based on a special spatial category. Recife and Hamburg are cities where social-spatial relations concerning urban development issues and its struggles are taking place outstandingly and characteristically, which make them exemplary cases of research in a context of a globalized *entankert*[8] society. Relating to these processes, individuals and their constructed social-spatial relations within groups produced and reproduced the urban space under the appeal for equanimity, equality, and democracy through processes of urbanization. In other words, an appeal for the right to the city.

Based on these aspects, the Research Question that guides the present work is: *How do urban social movements produce and reproduce urban spaces and construct their social-spatial realities—through action—in the contexts in which they are inserted in order to fight for the right to the city?*

The appeal for the right to the city achieved prominence in both cities in the last decades, even on mass media channels. In Hamburg, it was in the late 1980s with the squat at the Hafenstraße in the St. Pauli neighborhood, which is now known in local

8 Werlen's german neologism "entankert" may refer to "dis-anchored" and has its influence on Anthony Giddens' idea of "Disembedding": "the "lifting out" of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" (Giddens 1984, p. 21).

history as the "barricade days" (Schäfer 2004, p.39). At that time, the social agitation concerning urban issues started in Hamburg, which later, from 1995 until the beginning of the first decade of 21st century, influenced the struggles of the "Park Fiction" (ibid.). This social and activist fervor culminates with the creation of the network "Right to the city Hamburg" in 2009, that is still active nowadays.

In Recife, as well as in most Brazilian major cities, urban social movements in the 1980s were mainly focused on strictly political struggles such as the (re)democratization of the country after almost twenty-one years of military dictatorship, as those protests that were rooting for direct presidential elections. The first direct democratic presidential election happened for the first time in Brazil only in 1989. This may be one of the reasons why urban social movements which are directly engaged with urban issues and the right to the city found its biggest exponent only in 1997 with the creation of the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto—Homeless Workers Movement* (MTST) (Brito et al. 2015). In Recife, however, it was only after the auction of the "Cais José Estelita", acquired by a Real Estate Consortium in 2008, that the motto "Right to the City" got its space, culminating with the creation of the group "Direitos Urbanos" (Urban Rights) in 2012 (Rocha 2014 and 2015).

For this reason, it is possible to think of Hamburg and Recife as "rebel cities" (or at least, cities in which other "rebel cities" are constitutive parts inside of them), mostly because of the striking presence of urban social movements that are willing to (re)create, (re)construct and (re)design the city according to their collective wishes and not to the caprices of the power of capital. However, differences concerning their urbanization developments could not be ignored and are also of main importance to the present work. These differences were largely explored by Milton Santos in his writing *"A urbanização desigual" (Unequal Urbanization)*[9] (2010), that was originally published in French in 1971; *Les villes du Tiers Monde: spécifité du phénomène urbain en pays sous-développés.* As a Latin-American academician, Santos showed firmness to dismantle the reductionist view of the sectorial geography, and a dominant positivist colonial ideology that tried to convince that poverty of third-world countries would be barely a stage of history, by which the rich countries have already passed. In other words, Santos condemned the misconception of these theses that have intended to consider third-world urbanization as a simple and mechanical repetition of the processes in the current hegemonic centers by the time of their early industrialization.

Although Santos' contribution with "Unequal Urbanization" concerning the distinctions between urbanization processes in developed and underdeveloped countries has extreme importance to the elaboration of a theory of a geographic knowledge through a postcolonial perspective, his argumentation is still strongly attached to the

[9] This book was never officially published in English. "Unequal Urbanization" refers to a free translation from the Portuguese title, "A urbanização desigual".

methodological precepts of traditional quantitative geography. Santos based his approach in a spatial comparison exclusively focused on quantitative statistic data analysis, which has less relevance for the present work. However, his thesis of differentiation of urbanization processes is still defended by me on the present contribution, for I am rooted on the argument proposed by Santos himself in a more critical oriented phase of the geography making on his academic path when he generated his globalization theories. As mentioned earlier, Santos (Santos 2015 [2000]) sees the globalization process as having two contrary facets: one as a fable and the other as perversity.[10] This discernment unveils indeed the whole process of capitalist development that generates the neoliberal city in its relation to the urbanization process. Neoliberal urbanization processes are in fact an outstanding feature of the two-faced globalization as a source of fragmentation of urban space.

In a practical sense, the urbanization processes that are going on in Recife nowadays do not correspond, under any circumstances, to a previous stage of Hamburg's urbanization. Urban development in both cities in contemporary times passes through the same moment of the strong influence of market logic in a context of neoliberal globalization. This process, as already approached before, induces to the emergence of the "neoliberal city." However, due to the two distinct aspects of the process of globalization highlighted by Santos (Santos 2015 [2000]) that operate in a historically distinct way in the processes of urbanization in different contexts, it seems more plausible to claim that there are different kinds of "*neoliberal cities*." Fragmentation, polarization, and segregation processes are observed, therefore, in intra-urban local contexts, as well as in a global context.

Consequently, I expose the first, but still not the main thesis of this work: *Regardless of the great historical differences between urbanization processes in Hamburg and Recife, both produced cities, which would be characteristically defined as neoliberal cities.*

According to Harvey (2012a), this whole process of the constitution of the neoliberal cities could be called "urbanization of capital," which presupposes the capacity of capitalist's power to dominate the urban process. This includes not only the domination over the state apparatuses but also over whole populations (their lifestyles, cultural and political values). However, as emphasized by Harvey (2012a), complete control is almost impossible, since the city produced by this urban process—taken from a dialectical perspective—is also an important sphere of political, social, and class struggle. In this regard, the present work addresses its focus on this other perspective, rather than only the perspective of the Capital. It is the viewpoint of emancipatory possibilities of all of those who are struggling to gain their livelihood and reproduce their

[10] Santos (Santos 2015 [2000]) actually speaks about three different facets of the globalization processes in this work. Besides the views as a "fable" and as a "perversity", he also worked on a view of the "world as it may possibly be: another globalization" (Santos 2015 [2000], p.5).

everyday lives in the context of this urban process. This is the point where urban social movements come to light.

Urban social movements emerge as main actors of resistance against the sources of the crisis of the everyday life in urban contexts that I exposed until now. The starting reference regarding the idea of social movements used within this work is the contribution of the French sociologist, Alain Touraine, who showed prime interest along his career in studying and writing extensively on the theory of social movements. Touraine's work is based on a "sociology of action" in which he exposed his belief that society shapes its future through social action and its social struggles, and thus social movements gained importance in his analysis. For Touraine, "the idea of a social movement seeks to demonstrate the existence, within every societal type, of a central conflict […]" (Touraine 2000, p. 89). He concludes with the claim that the central conflict in our post-industrial society is waged by a "subject struggling against the triumph of the market and technology, on the one hand, and communitarian authoritarian powers, on the other" (ibid. 89)

To enrich this analysis, however, I will also address the contributions of Manuel Castells (1983b, 1996, and 2013) and Gesa Ziemer (2013 and 2016) that according to my evaluation could be complementary to the idea of social movement in contemporary times through many different aspects. Furthermore, the complexity and plurality of the social/joint action of groups and initiatives observed during the empirical research could, therefore, be better approached with the use of a broader theoretical spectrum. The Spanish sociologist, Manuel Castells, has largely contributed to the considerations about the *network society* (1996), thus, the emergence of networked social movements in times of the digital age (2013); Castells advanced the radical/critical approach on the social sciences claiming that no social change would be possible without social movements. Moreover, the German philosopher and urban researcher, Gesa Ziemer, brings to light the discussion and contributions of cultural theory and cultural praxis and the role of art, innovation, and creativity regarding the urban public sphere, participation, and urban collectivities. Her most recent works present the idea of c*omplicity* as a tool for the accomplishment of the ideals of creativity and innovation concerning groups and collectivities subversive's agency in contemporary urban contexts and their behavior regarding the structures.

Having said that, the second and main thesis of this research is: *Urban social movements—through their different strategies and forms of action whilst struggling to the right to the city—represent active forms of resistance against the inequalities produced by neoliberal urbanization and, therefore, of production and reproduction of the urban space and construction of socio-spatial relations according to their ambitions.*

As it could be inferred from the main thesis of this work, I refer simultaneously to the ideas of "production/reproduction of space" and "construction of social-spatial relations". These ideas refer and guide two different sociological/geographical perspectives: on the one hand, Lefebvre's theory of the *production of space* (Lefebvre, 1991a), and on the other hand, Werlen's *action-centered theory of the geography making* (Werlen, 1993, 2000a, 2007, 2008, and 2010). Lefebvre's theory is fundamental to understand the relation between capitalist development and the process of urbanization in times of globalization, which reveals the production of space in neoliberal cities, in which social movements are meaningful actors. In addition, Werlen's perspective provides an understanding of the subjective constructions of social-spatial realities and, therefore, the constitution of everyday geographies. In other words, the construction of everyday socio-spatial realities, which were unveiled during the empirical research with the subjects belonging to the social movements. The construction of these socio-spatial realities through subject's everyday practices and actions, constitute what Werlen (2007) would define as *everyday regionalizations*.

The structure of this work is as follows. First, the theoretical foundation mentioned above will be presented and further discussed. Along these lines, Chapter 1 is divided into two parts. The first one is dedicated to the discussion about the entanglements of the Lefebvrean theory of the production of space, its dialectical methodological-epistemological foundations, and its consequence's research on urban issues. Consequently, the 'Werlenean' action-centered theory of geography making is presented in the second part in accordance with its constructivist methodological-epistemological basis and its importance to social-geographical research focused on urban phenomena.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to a further discussion about the urbanization process in a world ruled by the globalization of the economy under neoliberal policies. This chapter is also divided into two parts, which refer to the two faces of the capitalist urban phenomenon. The first part covers the complex web of relations between capitalist development and the processes of urbanization and globalization that underlies the emergence of *neoliberal cities* and its main characteristics and consequences to urban life. This topic is founded on the significant contribution of critical geographers, especially represented, but not limited to, by Harvey (1973, 1985, 1998, and 2001), Santos (2008, 2009, 2010, and 2015[2000]), Souza (2005 and 2008a), and Ciccollela (2010 and 2014). The second part refers to what I consider as a response to the degradation of urban life generated by the neoliberal urbanization processs, namely the *right to the city* and the struggles for a just city. The entanglements behind the idea of the *right to the city* are discussed both from a historical-academic perspective with the legacy of Lefebvre, but also from the current political perspective with its outcomes for contemporary democracy in the world, as approached mainly by Harvey (1973, 2008, and 2012a), Mullis (2013b, 2014, and 2015), and Holm (2011, 2013, and 2014a).

In Chapter 3 I will discuss the development of the concept and idea of social movements as main actors towards the right to the city, so that it enables further exploration of its entanglements concerning the research topic. Relevant in this regard, are the network of social movements in the digital age (Castells 1996 and 2013), the organizational features of urban social movements, and the idea of *complicity* elaborated by Zimmer (2013), and the protest movements under the motto "*occupy*". These movements are symbolic of urban social movements in contemporary times, which carry with them fundamental characteristics of complicity and the use of internet tools such as social networks.

In the following Chapter 4, the methodology is presented and developed in consonance with the theoretical features presented above and sensible to design a meaningful analysis of strategies of action of urban social movements in the complex web of relations between neoliberal urban development and the right to the city. The empirical research of these phenomena requires methodological procedures that can carefully collect and analyze subjects' subtle strategies without diluting the collection of data with socially desirable explanations, putting subjects under pressure, or narrowing down the analysis. Accordingly, the choice of qualitative research techniques and tools will be presented and discussed. These techniques are namely the direct observation, qualitative/narrative interviews and the theoretical coding based on the *grounded theory* of Barney Glaser & Anselm Strauss (1967).

Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to the analysis and discussion of the empirical research results of the (re)production of urban space through social movements' strategies of action and their construction of realities towards the right to the city in Recife (Chapter 5) and Hamburg (Chapter 6). These chapters are then followed by the conclusion and final considerations of this research.

Finally, I would like to point out that according to the intentions of this scientific work, I have taken theoretical and methodological decisions which I believe to be the most adequate for the understanding of the research problem. I have chosen an approach that overlaps different theoretical and methodological perspectives and also proposed an equitable dialogue between the knowledge productions from the global north and the global south. Likewise, I would like to mention that I believe that intellectual and scientific production needs to become more popular and more accessible to as many people as possible. In this way, the present work was not only written for the evaluation committee and libraries shelves, but mainly for social actors and urban subjects, that like the subjects referred in this research, are struggling all over the world for an honest and equal life in the cities. That denotes the reasoning for the use of personal, subjective, and simple language will be recurrent during this work. This is an attempt at filling a gap in my academic education which seeks to encourage the production of high-quality Ph.D. theses that are also accessible to students at the

beginning of their academic lives. It can be a very complicated task, however, since the hard way sometimes is the most pleasurable, I choose for pleasure while writing, and I hope that this initiative meets and responds to the readers' expectations.

1. "City" in theoretical perspectives. From the production of space to the action centered geography making

Social Geography as a scientific discipline has its core on the investigation of the relationship between society and space. According to Werlen (2008), there are two main questions, where the answers contain this central idea: "How are societies spatially organized? What role does space play for social coexistence?"[11] (Werlen 2008, p.11). Taking into consideration the changes in national territories and borders, the creation of regional and economic blocks with a single currency, or even the most diverse separatist and nationalist movements of the last thirty years, it is easy to obtain an idea of how profound the political significance to the relations between society and space is. In fact, the action field of Social Geography is directly linked to a political dimension. However, as Werlen reminds, "the relationship between space and society is not only relevant to the 'big' politics, but it is also significant for the everyday practice of all subjects. In general, one can assume that spatial and social matters are related to most human activities"[12] (ibid. 12). Werlen reinforces that, on the one hand, this manifests itself through the fact that the visual images of landscapes are to some extent an expression of people's ways of life. On the other hand, however, the possibilities of how subjects can fulfill their activities in a certain place are often tied and bounded to the spatial conditions.

That is why it can be affirmed that the perspectives of the social-geographic research on the relationship between society and space are as diverse and numerous as the methodological and theoretical approaches. Werlen believes that this situation is a crucial feature of science when he claims that there is no "last" certainty and no definitive and irrefutable knowledge, especially on social and human sciences. "All knowledge is ultimately an assumption. Thereon, the internal and external demands of science are integrated"[13] (ibid. 15). Werlen (2008) argues that if the doubt-suspicion aspect of the scientific knowledge is recognized, it is easy to acknowledge that the diversity of methods and perspectives is not only necessary but also helpful. He justifies this claim with two reasons: first of all, that the mutual challenge of different conjectures could only be conducive to sharpening the argument and the rigor of the examination. Secondly, "the diversity of theoretical perspectives for better penetration and comprehension of a

[11] „Wie sind Gesellschaften in räumlicher Hinsicht organisiert? Welche Rolle spielt der Raum für das gesellschaftliche Zusammenleben?" (Werlen 2008, S. 11)

[12] „Das Verhältnis von Raum und Gesellschaft ist jedoch nicht nur für die >>große<< Politik relevant. Es ist für die alltägliche Praxis aller Subjekte bedeutsam. Man kann ganz allgemein davon ausgehen, dass Räumliches und Gesellschaftliches für die meisten Tätigkeiten zusammenhängen" (Werlen 2008, S. 12)

[13] „Alles Wissen ist letztlich Vermutungswissen. Darauf sind sowohl die externen als auch die internen Ansprüche an die Wissenschaft abzustimmen" (Werlen 2008, S. 15)

scientific problem is just as useful as taking different perspectives when getting to know an object"[14] (ibid. 15).

Although social-geographic analysis could profit from all these 'relativizations' of scientific and disciplinary claims, a methodological arbitrariness does not have a 'free-pass' among the rules of scientific good-practices. Firstly, because this choice of methods and means of research always depends on what the research is concerned with and on which aspects of reality one wishes to obtain more accurate information. Consequently, to achieve comprehensible and verifiable scientific results, it is necessary that certain scientific rules must be followed. "The postulation of a variety of perspectives should, therefore, not be confused with the assumption of the arbitrariness of the research methods"[15] (Werlen, 2008 p.17). It is exactly the opposite, as postulates Werlen: "diversity can only be meaningful if the most accurate methodological rigor as possible is practiced within different approaches"[16] (ibid.). Thus, diversity of perspectives and methodological rigor do not exclude each other. They are two levels of the scientific work.

The social-geographical realities can be researched and analyzed from different points of view and perspectives from which they were produced. The present research, as already mentioned, addresses two different levels/perspectives of social-geographic realities that will be analyzed in agreement with their respective theories. Foremost, the more general perspective, to investigate the historical development on global and local scales of urbanization processes in consonance with the Lefebvrean theory of the production of space. The second perspective concerns the subjective and everyday construction of spatial realities of the subjects involved with urban social movements and their ways of relating to the processes of urbanization. This perspective refers to the Werlenean theory of the geography-making centered in action. The next sections of this chapter refer to further discussions concerning both theories.

---

[14] „Die Vielfalt fachtheoretischer Perspektiven ist einer besseren Durchdringung eines Problemfeldes ebenso förderlich, wie die Einnahme verschiedener Blickwinkel beim Kennenlernen eines Gegenstandes" (Werlen 2008, S. 15)

[15] „Die Postulierung einer Perspektivenvielfalt ist folglich nicht mit der Annahme der Beliebgkeit der Forschungsweisen zu verwechseln" (Werlen 2008, S. 17)

[16] „Vielfalt kann nur dann sinnvoll sein, wenn innerhalb der vershiedenen Ansätze eine möglichst große Methodenstrenge praktiziert wird" (Werlen 2008, S. 17)

1.1. Lefebvre's theory of the production of space

More than four decades ago, Henri Lefebvre designed a theory of the production of space that received an outstanding interpretation but remained unrecognized for a long period of time and, therefore, its effect was only fully unfolded in recent years. Christian Schmid (2005, p. 9) claims that the significance of this theory lies in the fact that it systematically integrates the categories of *city* and *space* into a comprehensive social theory that makes it possible to describe, grasp, and understand spatial processes and phenomena at all scale levels. From the subjective-individual level to the level of the city and, finally, to the global analysis. According to Schmid (2005, p.10), Lefebvre's theory is part of a highly ambitious and complex metaphilosophical project, which he pursued and was constantly evolving for more than a half of a century. Moreover, the theory of the production of space is also embedded in a contemporary discussion that is extremely rich and fruitful, namely the debate known as the *crisis of the city*. This term refers to the loss of everyday worldly life-quality associated with the spread of urban areas and the functional logic of post-war urban planning (ibid.).

Lefebvre's approach to this issue was strongly influenced by his studies of everyday life, which he started after the Second World War and continued for decades almost until the end of his life. "In the course of these studies, he came across a phenomenon that became more and more important over the years: the urbanization processes"[17] (Schmid 2005, p. 11). In the turbulent year of 1968, Lefebvre presented *Le Droit à la Ville*, his first theoretical essay on urban crisis, in which he focused on the search for a new theory of the city. The unfolding of these efforts is the elaboration of the appeal for the *Right to the city*, which is to understand as a right to access the possibilities and opportunities of the city, that is, the right to a renewed urbanity.

Later in 1970, Lefebvre developed the work in which his approaches were for the first time directed to a general theory of urban society. In *La révolution urbaine*, his major work concerning the city and urban issues, he outlined the radical thesis of the complete urbanization of society. This involved a fundamental change of perspective, in other words, a reorientation of his analysis. Thus, the focus shifts from the object *city* to the process of urbanization and the emergence of an urban society.

The analysis of urban society and urbanization processes raised the question of the connection between urban problems and the development of society as a whole. To shed light on this, Lefebvre changed once again the level of his analysis and placed the urbanization process in the context of the general social theory category of space (Schmid 2005, p. 11). This led to the formulation of the theses that compose Lefebvre's

[17] „Im Verlauf dieser Studien stiess er auf ein Phänomen, das ihn in der Folge immer stärker beschäftigen sollte: die Urbanisierung" (Schmid 2005, S. 11)

probably major book, and one of his most complex and difficult works, namely *La production de l'espace*, released in 1974; herein, he designed a comprehensive theory of the social production of space.

However, before going deeper into the discussion and analysis of the Lefebvrean theory, it is necessary to revise the epistemological-methodological background that supports Lefebvre for the construction of the bases of his theory. In this respect, Lefebvre finds its influence, mainly, in his readings of the German dialectic that culminated in the postulation of his tridimensional dialectic.

1.1.1. Lefebvre's tridimensional dialectic

The origin of the dialectical thinking relies on the Greeks. According to Kalina Silva and Maciel Silva (2005), the *Dialogues* of Plato already comprehends the dialectic argumentative form. "The Greek definition of the term *dialektike (tekhne)* refers to the discussion; the art of argumentation"[18] (Silva and Silva 2005, p. 97). In the platonic dialogues, two discussants set out a reasoning about a particular theme, and each argued so as to transcend the mere opinion (imagination and belief) to ascend to the true knowledge of reality (episteme). This platonic concept of dialectic, as claimed by Silva and Silva (2005), which is almost confused with discussion, is, according to Plato, a method, a way to reach *Ideas* or *Perfect Forms;* the true reality

Eliseu Spósito (2004) also retraces the Greek philosophy on his understanding about the dialectics. "The dialectical method is that which proceeds through the refutation of common-sense opinions taking them to the level of contradictions, so that it would be possible to reach the truth, product of reason"[19] (Spósito 2004, p. 39). He proceeds and mentions Plato, for whom the dialectic is the "[…] process through which the soul rises along the steps of sensible appearances towards intelligible realities or ideas"[20] (ibid.). As stated by Spósito, the dialectic is also an instrument of searching the truth, a scientific pedagogy of the dialogue.

The dialectical thinking, after centuries of disuse, was rescued by German philosophy, especially by Hegel at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Philosopher of Idealism, Hegel believed that this thought based on the principles of the *thesis-antithesis-synthesis* was the maximum form of reaching the absolute. Silva and Silva (2005) claim that for Hegel, every cosmic structure was dialectical. That is, it involved the principle of contradiction. Although he believed that reality was rational, this rationality was not static, but dynamic. Therefore, the Hegelian view is that the dialectical method is the

---

18 "A própria definição grega do termo *dialektike (tekhne)* é discussão, arte de argumentar e discutir" (Silva and Silva 2005

19 "O método dialético é aquele que procede pela refutação das opiniões do senso comum, levando-as à contradição, para chegar então à verdade, fruto da razão" (Spósito 2004, p. 39)

20 "[…] processo pelo qual a alma se eleva, por degraus, das aparências sensíveis às realidades inteligíveis ou ideias" (Spósito 2004, p. 39)

only one capable of favoring the understanding of a reality that is constantly changing, in *movement*. The idea of the movement is even central to Hegel. Manfred Buhr and Alfred Kosing (1982) reminds that the Hegelian dialectic represents the self-movement of the world (which, however, he idealistically considers as the manifestation of the *idea of absolute*) and at the same time "the true method of knowing and thinking, because it corresponds to the nature of the idea of the absolute itself"[21] (Buhr and Kosing 1982, p. 71).

Hegel has resumed the natural movement of thought in research and discussion. It is through the dialectical thinking that researchers confront opinions, points of view, different aspects of the problem, opposites and contradictions and try to elevate themselves to a broader, more comprehensive point of view. In a previous research, I approached Hegelian dialectics, whereas affirming that if the Real is in movement, our thought must also have a behavior dictated by the movement, the historicity and the contradictions inherent in human phenomena. "If the Real is contradictory, it is necessary that our thought must be precisely the conscious thought of contradiction"[22] (Fernandes 2012, p.17).

Hegelian and Greek philosophy thoughts on dialectics are, however, primary ideas that nowadays are broadly understood as general principles of the scientific doing and therefore, it would not be enough to build an adequate methodological basis of a theory to investigate the development of urbanization processes. Karl Marx, however, based on his readings on Hegel, made his critics and exposed the limits of Hegelian idealism on the interpretations of transformations processes in the world, such as urbanization. Marx claims that although Hegel was one of the first philosophers to clarify the general ideas regarding the movement and the changing aspect of human phenomena, of the world, and of science itself, he frequently used the term "dialectic method" as a synonym of "scientific method" (Sposito 2004, p. 44). Marx's critique is, therefore, that whereas for Hegel the *mind* determines the unfolding of people's freedom, for Marx it is the *material* life. Marx proposes a dialectic in connection with the matter, formulating the dialectical materialism. According to the dialectical materialism, since the material conditions of existence (economics) are the true reason of human actions, dialectic would be the method for perceiving and overcoming the social and historical contradictions common to various human societies throughout history (Buhr and Kosing 1982). Silva and Silva (2005) point out that Marx's thinking consists of starting from the real (the real man and his contradictions), and not from ideas or the mind, as Hegel did. According to dialectical materialism, the *historical development* of humanity occurs through processes of change that imply contradictions.

---

21 „Die Dialektik ist die Selbstbewegung der Welt und zugleich die wahre Erkenntnismethode und Denkweise, weil sie dem Wesen der absoluten Idee selbst entspricht" (Buhr and Kosing 1982. S. 71)

22 "Se o real é contraditório, é necessário que o nosso pensamento seja precisamente o pensamento consciente da contradição" (Fernandes 2012, p. 17).

The historical perspective is also a central aspect of the development of Marxist dialectic. For Marx, the dialectical thinking necessarily understands the notion of movement in history, and this Marxist conception of history is what will enable the elaboration of concepts such as commodity, capital accumulation, and surplus value, for example. This allowed the understanding of a more complex and better-elaborated reading of capitalism as a historically produced mode of production. The confluence of the idea of movement in history on Marx's analysis of the importance and centrality of material life gives rise to the methodological approach called Dialectical and Historical Materialism. The dialectic—based on a historical and materialist approach—emphasizes the contradictions and changes, which constitutes an interpretation of reality, which was for a long time the most adequate to visualize and understand the conflicts and antagonistic relations existing in history (masters vs. slaves, capitalists vs. proletarians).

In the late modern capitalist society, however, in which conflicts and contradictions are not marked by dichotomic relations any longer, the traditional Marxist historical and materialist dialectic may present itself as an obsolete or not sufficient method for the apprehension of contemporary socio-spatial phenomena in its wide variety. Henri Lefebvre, however, in the course of his vast academic production—especially on his investigations about the production of space, the everyday life, and the urban phenomenon—made important developments in the dialectics methodological theory that became more suitable for the plurality and complexity of contemporary human phenomena. Schmid (2005, 2012a) claims that Lefebvre worked on a highly original version of the dialectic thinking based on his continuous critical engagement with Hegel, Marx, and also Nietzsche. The three German philosophers were by far the most influential in Lefebvre's theory. Glauber Xavier (2013) also advances on this way and claims that "aiming the comprehension of the primacy of dialectics, Lefebvre conducts readings about Nietzsche's thoughts and adds the notion of becoming in his works to understand human progress in society, their daily struggles, and resistance"[23] (Xavier 2013, p. 1)

Lefebvre is an author that allied theory and praxis in his academic production. He established ideas on the theoretical field but never stopped participating in practical actions, which were arising from such theoretical reflections. His participation in the 1968 Situationist International movement is a clear example of it. The confluence of theory and praxis engaged Lefebvre against scientific and political dogmatism, especially within the French communist party. This may be the reason why he gained a great number of political enemies, but also antagonists in the scientific world, especially among philosophers, sociologists, and historians (Soto 2013, p. 25). The creativity of Lefebvrean thinking is part of the trend of Marxist studies, characteristic among social sciences of the 1970's, wherefore, Lefebvre is sometimes considered as a *neomarxist* philosopher.

[23] "Com o propósito de apreender o primado dos processos na dialética, Lefebvre conduz leituras a partir do pensamento de Nietzsche e acrescenta a nocao do devir em seus trabalhos a fim de melhor compreender o progresso humano na sociedade, seus embates, suas resistências cotidianas" (Xavier 2013, p. 1).

Such denomination comes from the inventiveness in which Lefebvre inserts the most varied propositions about the world, especially from what he calls the dialectic of the triad. Lefebvre's interpretations of the concept of space, for example, overcome the notion of something empty, in its simple geometric nature, and intend to surpass the field of the superstructure, that is, his ideas transcend the "strict Marxist tradition" (Lefebvre 2013).

Ultimately, through his adoption of "Germanic dialectics", Lefebvre reaches a renewed three-dimensional dialectic which has no parallel in philosophy and the history of knowledge (Schmid 2012a). Lefebvre himself describes his dialectic as a radical critic of Hegel based on the social practice of Marx and the art of Nietzsche (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 406). This Nietzschean influence could be better understood if it is assumed that the fundamental dialectical figure on Lefebvre's work could be comprehended as the contradiction between social thinking and social action when strengthened by the third factor, the creative and poetic act. Schmid (2005, 2012a) explains Lefebvrean dialectic as having three postulated terms. Each which can be understood as a thesis, and each one refers to both others and would remain as a mere abstraction without them. (Schmid 2012a, p. 95). This triadic figure does not end as a synthesis as postulated by Hegel, but it links three moments that remain distinct between each other, without the reconciliation of them in a synthesis: "three moments that coexist in interaction, conflicts, or alliances" (Lefebvre 2004, p. 12).

Thus, the three terms or moments assume equal importance and each of them takes a similar position in their relation to the others, and a new and tridimensional (or triadic) version of the dialectic method emerges. Practically, the three moments can be described as follows: the first moment in which the phenomenon is observed, apprehended and described. The considerations of the ephemeral, the subtle, the detail are not only pertinent but important to the phenomenon. In special regard to the present work, the apprehension of urbanization and the meaning of urban everyday life lie at this moment, when the characteristic language, symbols, and signs of the urbanization process are perceived, apprehended, and put into reflection. The second moment consists in the determination of the facts on historical time. This means for the present research, the observation of how different aspects of the urbanization materialize, persist, or disappear. In other words, to observe in what circumstances these phenomena rise, remain or are absent in the urban space. The third moment is the historical-genetic progression. It refers to the understanding of the once dated modifications made by further development (internal or external) to the structure in question, and by its subordination to the overall structures. Lefebvre tries, therefore, to return to the current situation described at the beginning; to rediscover the present, but with it elucidated and understood: explained (Lefebvre 1975).

1.1.2. The social production of space

As state by Schmid (2005, p. 14), four contextual aspects, in particular, must be considered to understand Lefebvre's theory of the production of space. Firstly, the fact that Lefebvre lived in a specific urban situation in Paris with its extraordinary intellectual atmosphere, in which he became involved with the Situationist International movement, especially in the events of May 1968 in France. His theoretical position in the field of theory of science is decisively influenced by these lifeworld and action/praxis-oriented experiences, which appear in many forms in almost all of his texts. Therefore, these experiences can not just easily be converted to the situation of the "post-Fordist" metropolises of contemporaneity. Without considering these experiences, many of Lefebvre's concepts would remain incomprehensible.

Secondly, the epistemological and methodological context of Lefebvre's work, as previously discussed, needs to be considered thoroughly and could not be neglected. In his critical readings through western philosophy, he has exposed the most diverse theoretical elements and included them in critical reflections in his writings, from the Greek philosophy on the French structuralism to the existential philosophy of Heidegger (Schmid 2005, p.15). Essentially, however, his theory is founded upon two sources: on the one hand, some elements of the theory of the production of space are based on the precepts of the French phenomenology of the 20th century, especially the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Gaston Bachelard. On the other hand, and most importantly, however, are the influences of what can be called "the German dialectic", based on the most complex, controversial, dazzling, and therefore, Lefebvre's most appreciated and quoted authors: Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche. Consequently, as already approached in the previous section, Lefebvre's theory of the production of space is permeated by a "classical" historical dialectic and a new, three-dimensional dialectic of the simultaneity. As already mentioned, the importance of the Lefebvrean conception of the dialectic as a triad arises from the inventiveness in which Lefebvre inserts the most varied propositions about the world. Lefebvre has made this by articulating three elements such as society, time and space, and articulating the two opposing elements of the dialectical pair and a third resultant element, which is not completely done and remains as a third possibility.

The third aspect is that due to his loyalty to the dialectical approach, Lefebvre developed his theoretical concepts in close interaction with empiricism, not in the sense of classical deduction but of dialectical transduction (Schmid 2005, p. 15). He often introduced them as approximations, as "strategic hypotheses whose scope he explored in the course of the investigation"[24] (ibid.). Accordingly, his terminology is also in a continuous dialectical movement—it has, so to speak, a flowing structure. This structure

[24] „[...]"strategische Hypothesen, deren Reichweite und Geltungsbereiche er im Verlauf der Untersuchung erforschte" (Schmid 2005, S. 5).

of the dialectic of the triad based in Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche contains the basis of the social production of space. That is, according to Lefebvre (1991a, p. 20), the whole space, mental, physical and social, is tragically understood. He claims that historical time for Hegel engenders the space where it extends and on which the state commands. Hence, Hegelian space is the product and residue of historical time. Nietzschean space, which has nothing to do with the Hegelian, is the "theatre of the universal tragedy, as the cyclical, repetitious space" (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 22). This, in turn, cannot be compared to the Marxist space, characterized by "historicity driven forward by the forces of production and adequately (to be optimistic) oriented by industrial, proletarian, and revolutionary rationality" (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 22-23).

Finally, the fourth contextual aspect concerns the linguistic, which is also pertinent to Lefebvrean theory. Schmid (2005, p. 16) even refers to that as Lefebvre's "metaphilosophical meditations." He argues that almost every reading of Lefebvrean work, conveys it, first and foremost, as a "reading experience," which is extraordinary in science. Lefebvre's texts "offer the sensual experience of an inspiring and enjoyable reading with rich undertones and overtones, which often tell something quite different from what the logical analysis supposes"[25] (ibid.). What is striking is the fact that Lefebvre developed his own theory of language (Lefebvre 1966). A kind of three-dimensional construction from Nietzsche's poetics; after all, in Lefebvre's conception, Nietzsche could expose the problem of language by starting from the spoken word and not from a model. Thus, connecting, since the beginning, meaning with value and knowledge with power (Schmid 2012a, p. 97). Consequently, Lefebvre (1991a, p. 99) refers to metonymy and metaphor as well-known concepts, which he borrows from linguistics. As claimed by Araujo (2015, p. 102), Lefebvre points out that it is not only a matter of words but of space and spatial practice, where a deep examination of the relations between space and language became necessary.

Having presented these pertinent aspects of Lefebvre's work, one can then understand why according to him, the social process of the production of space can be examined regarding three dimensions which are dialectically related to each another. These dimensions are the perceived (*le perçu*), the conceived (*le conçu*), and the lived (*le vécu*). Taking the spatial aspect into consideration, it refers respectively to *spatial practices*, *representations of space* and *spaces of representation*. This double triad of dialectical concepts lies at the core of the theory of the production of space, and nowadays, remains the source for many extensive debates and speculations.

It is then necessary to mention that Lefebvre's theory is a spatio-temporal social theory. In other words, "a general scheme that can be represented as the analytic model

[25] „Seine Texte bieten das sinnliche Erlebnis einer inspierierenden und vergnüglichen Lektüre mit reichen Unter- und Obertönen, die oft etwas ganz anderes erzählen als die logische Analyse zu erkennen vermeint" (Schmid 2005, p. 16).

of the social production of space and time, which consists of three central *categories"*[26] (Schmid 2005, p. 21). The first category sets-up the space-time *dimensions* of social reality, namely, the production of material conditions, the production of knowledge, and the production of meanings. The second category sets-up the spatio-temporal *levels* of social reality. Again, they follow a threefold division into a global level or distant order—the state, an individual level or near order (everyday life)—and an intermediary and mediating level, the city. Finally, the third category, the spatio-temporal *configurations* of social reality, refer to the complexity and temporality of the production of society. They designate the social production of space over time in relatively stable ways. It is important at this point to emphasize that all the spatio-temporal categories of social reality interrelate simultaneously and dialectically with each other and with the spatial dimensions that constitute the core of the theory: perceived, conceived, and lived.

Taking into consideration that Lefebvre characterizes space as being socially produced, it is important to discuss the concept of space on Lefebvre's thought before going deeper into the discussion of the spatial dimensions of Lefebvrian theory mentioned above. He argues that the academic conceptions of space were confusing and paradoxical, in which it was concerned as an elementary "category" among others. He further adds that the sciences dealt with space as reified and divided according to simplifying methodological postulates: the geographic, the sociological, and the historical. From here he claims that space can no longer be formulated as passive, empty, or as like other "goods", having no other purpose than to be exchanged, consumed, or to disappear. "As a product, through interaction or retraction, space intervenes in production itself: organization of productive work, transport, flows of raw materials and energy, distribution networks of goods, etc. In its rentable and productive way, space enters the relations of production and the productive forces. Therefore, its concept cannot be isolated and remain static"[27] (Lefebvre 2013, p. 55-56).

Lefebvre (1972, 1991a) claims that from a historical-materialist perspective, space is neither a "subject" nor an "object", but a social reality. This reality can only be conceived as the result of a concrete (material) production process, which must be analyzed in the context of certain historical relations of production. For these reasons, Lefebvre thus presents his central thesis: the social space is a social product (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 46). Lefebvre himself admits that the idea of a "production of space" may sound astonishing, but he deliberately and provocatively wants to oppose this apprehension against the still-prevalent idea that space exists before the "things" that supposedly occupy and fulfill it.

---

[26] „Ein allgemeines Schema, das sich als analytische Matrix der Produktion des gesellschaftlichen Raumes und der gesellschaftlichen Zeit darstellen lässt, die sich aus drei zentralen Kategorien zusammensetzt" (Schmid 2005, S. 21).

[27] "En tanto que producto, mediante interacción o retracción, el espacio interviene en la producción misma: organización del trabajo productivo, transportes, flujos de materias primas e energía, redes de distribuición de los productos etc. A su manera productiva e productora, el espacio entra en las relaciones de producción y en las fuerzas productivas. Su concepto no puede, oues, aislarse y quedar estático" (Lefebvre 2013, p. 55-56).

Moreover, he refers, at the same time, to the concept of production in a broader sense, alluding to the self-production of man. Thus, Lefebvre considers the space (as well as the time) not as aprioristic conditions of "Nature" or "Culture", but as historical, human products (Lefebvre 1991a).

Mayara Araújo (2015, p.98) points out that without taking into consideration that the social space only advances in the face of a new or unforeseen problem, there would be no way to understand it without taking it dialectically as a product-producer pair at the same time, a foundation of social-economic and production relations. Thus, if the social space interferes in the mode of production at the same time, effect, cause, and reason, it will, consequently, be changed along the mode of production. Moreover, space and time, as already mentioned, do not exist universally; rather, they are understood as integral aspects of social practice and therefore, as "result and pre-condition of the production of society"[28] (Schmid 2012a, p. 91). Hence, rather than reifying space, Lefebvre considers it dialectically based on the product-producer pair in a unitary theory that brings together the physical, social, and mental by the analysis of the intrinsic relation between form and content. Accordingly, the way to understand the theory is to know that the production of space in Lefebvre's examination is divided into three dimensions. These exist in a state of uncertainty; therefore, they mark the contradictions of social reality as well as, their meanings can only be recognized in the general context of the theory.

The most widespread notion of the production of space is centered in the process and not in the description of the results, and therefore, it advances in the passage from temporality to the spatiality. After all, the nucleus of the theory identifies three moments of production, as previously mentioned (material, knowledge, and meaning) that must be apprehended in an equanimous way, since space is at the same time perceived, conceived, and lived. Thus, this reinforces, the central aspect of Lefebvrean theory that it is not space itself or the disposition of objects in space but the unfinished space which is continually produced over time.

According to Lefebvre, the idea of the production of space referred to the social production of urban space. For the present work, this thought becomes even more significant, due to the intent to interpret and understand the production of urban space through the unfolding of urbanization processes in Recife and Hamburg with support of the Lefebvrian theoretical apparatus. The intention is then mainly about analyzing how the city is constituted and continually produced. With his theory of the production of space, Lefebvre claims to develop a general theory of the relation of space and society. The theory of the production of space is thus closely related to Lefebvre's analysis of the urbanization process and urban society and cannot be adequately understood without this reference. For Lefebvre, production of space always means *production of the*

[28] "[...] resultado e pré condição da produção da sociedade" (Schmid 2012a, p. 91).

city. According to Schmid (2005. p.191), he even wanted to entitle his book as *Théorie de l'espace urbain*.

The city is a product that emerges only in the complex interplay between spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation, or through what is perceived, conceived, and lived. Schmid (2005, p. 161) believes that in this way, Lefebvre is confronted with a central contradiction that his analysis has brought to light: on the one hand, the city is dissolved in the urbanization process and opens up on a contradictory virtual convergence point: the urban society. On the other hand, however, the city remains as an image, as an ideology, but also as a built form. Lefebvre (1972, p. 65) reiterates that there are still small and medium-sized cities here and there, and they will be around for a long time to come. Moreover, cities have a historical existence that cannot be ignored. For this reason, he claims that "The image or representation of the city will continue to exist and survive under its conditions, that is to say, creating an urbanistic ideology and urbanistic projects. In other words, the "real" sociological object is, in this case, an image and, above all, ideology!"[29] (Lefebvre 1972, p. 65).

In the construction of his theory, Lefebvre proposes, as already elucidated, that the production of space is formed by a triad that encompasses the spatial practices (perceived space), the representations of space (conceived space), and the spaces of representation (lived space). This order, however, is neither rigid nor fixed, since the Lefebvrian dialectical spatial triad encompasses the three categories as always considered in movement and simultaneous. Therefore, these categories can be arranged in as many ways as possible. The perceived, the lived, and the conceived are intertwined within the same society (Lefebvre 1991a). In this way, this logic can be applied to any society insofar as it is considered that the subject interacts with space, producing it and being directly influenced by it. In other words, space in its individual and collective development. As Schmid (2012, p. 102) points out, this triad is both individual and social and not only constitutive of the subjects' self-production but rather, the self-production of society. Thus, all three concepts denote active individual and social processes at the same time.

[29] „Das Bild oder Darstellung der Stadt können weiterbestehen und unter eigenen Voraussetzungen überleben, eine urbanistische Ideologie und urbanistische Projekte ins Leben rufen. In anderen Worten: das ‚wirkliche' soziologische Objekt ist in diesem Falle Bild und, vor allem, Ideologie!" (Lefebvre 1972, S. 65)

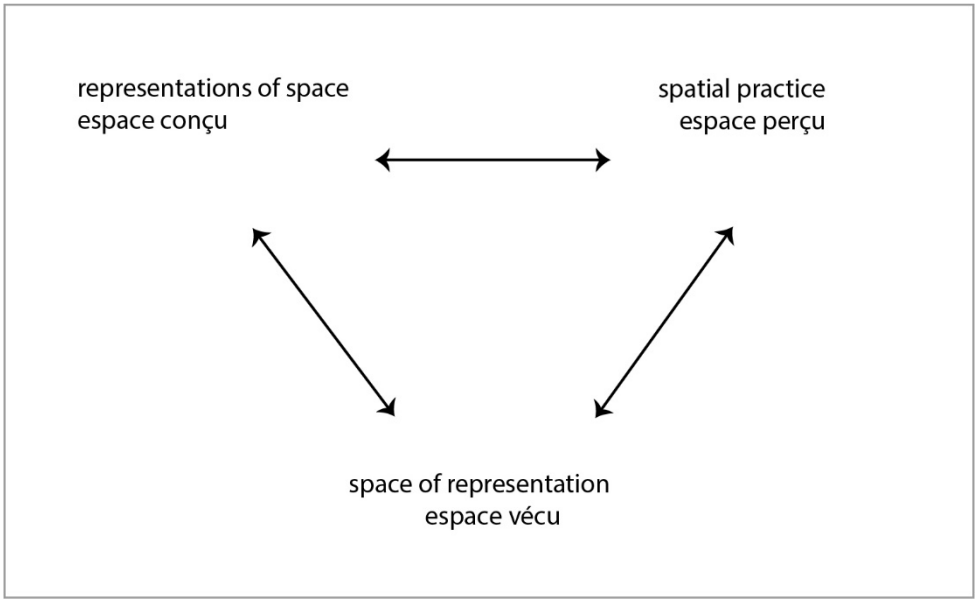

Figure 1: Lefebvre's tridimensional dialectic. (Schmid 2005, p. 244)

Perceived space

The perceived space is the identification (perception) of the manifestation of nature, which is done by means of collective action. Perceived space is thus termed as the spatial practice of a society, which expels its space. This practice presupposes and assumes space in a dialectical interplay. Production is slow and gradual, in which these practices dominate and appropriate it. According to Lefebvre (2013, p. 97), the spatial practice of a society is discovered by deciphering its space. Angelo Serpa (2005, p.222) stresses that "perceived space is directly related to objects and immediate phenomena, lacking complex symbolic elaborations. It is the field of percepts, although there is already the beginning of the incorporation of objects and from phenomena to cognitive structures."[30]

Nature is perceived by the subject who lives it and conceives his world in relation to this. In other words, behind a metaphysical world, there is a concreteness derived from the space and the perceived and lived human relations (Mathias 2016, p.161). It is interesting to note that this interpretation does not contemplate nature as a producer of reality, be it concrete or mythical, but rather considers it as a constantly read and, observed and therefore, perceived space. Thus, this perception of nature influences social relations in so far as the subjects also produce it.

Spatial practices produce perceived space, the space of the practical-sensory world, in which the actions of collective actors are enrolled in the form of permanent objects

30 "O espaco percebido está relacionado diretamente aos objetos e aos fenômenos imediatos, carecendo de elaborações simbólicas de cunho complexo. É o campo dos perceptos, embora haja, ja aí, o início da incorporação dos objetos e dos fenômenos às estruturas cognitivas" (Serpa 2005, p. 222).

and reality. In this sense, spatial practice projects all aspects, elements and moments of social practice on the "spatial terms" (Lefebvre 1991a, p.8). As Schmid (2005, p.211) points out, the spatial practice can be understood as a material aspect of social practice.

Conceived space

Lefebvre is very categorical in speaking of the representations of space, that is, the conceived space. For him, this is the "space of scientists, urban planners, architects, fragmentary technocrats, social engineers, and even certain artists that are close to scientificity, which all of them identify the lived and the perceived in relation to the conceived space"[31] (Lefebvre 2013, p. 97). For Lefebvre (1991a), this is the dominant space in any contemporary society. For Schmid (2012, p. 102), "conceived space is an act of thought" and this action of thought is also a producer, a constructor. This construction takes place from the concrete, even if space is conceived both in its most palpable dimension and in the set of signs that form the symbolic space. In this way, the two categories intertwine, the perceived and the conceived spaces.

Schmid (2005, p. 216) goes still further and states that the representations of space thus arise on the level of discourse and language, and they produce the conceived space. Language and discourse should, however, not be taken too narrowly in this context, as Lefebvre also considers maps and plans, or even information through images or signs as representations of space (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 233). Although these representations are necessarily abstract, they become part of social and political practice. This happens because one can expect that the relationships between the objects and the people defined in the represented space have a practical interpretation, that they fit into the spatial textures and thereby change them. These textures would be like imprints, so to speak, of effective cognitions and ideologies (Schmid 2005, p. 216-217). Representations of space thus have an important and specific influence for the production of space: through building and architecture, not in the sense of the construction of an isolated building, but as a project that fits into a spatial context, a texture.

Finally, it is important to mention Serpa (2005, p. 222), who conceived space as a symbol that lacks percepts, which seeks to be incorporated into cognitive structures without the legitimacy of everyday spatial practices, yet influencing directly in the spaces of representation, the lived space.

[31] "Las representaciones del espacio, es decir, el espacio concebido, el espacio de los científicos, planificadores, urbanistas, tecnócratas fragmentadores, ingenieros sociales y hasta el de cierto tipo de artistas próximos a la cinetficidad, todos los cuales identifican lo vivido y lo percibido con lo concebido […]" (Lefebvre 2013, p. 97).

Lived space

The spaces of representation—that is, the lived space—is characterized by the images and symbols that accompany it and is therefore "the space of 'inhabitants', the 'users', but also of artists and perhaps certain novelists and philosophers who describe it"[32] (Lefebvre 2013, 98). It can be said that it is the passively experienced space that the imagination wants to modify and appropriate. Even though art and poetry can represent and to a certain extent determine these spaces of representation, it should not be forgotten that for Lefebvre it is the everyday life that takes shape in the spaces of representation or rather gives shape to them. (Lefebvre 1991a, p. 116). The lived space is never subordinated to any coherence or cohesion. They are imbued with the imaginary and the symbolism and have a story as their origin. It is a story of people and the story of every individual that belongs to this people (Schmid 2005, p. 223).

According to Serpa (2005 p. 222), it is the locus of cognitive processes and social representations. It is the space of mediations and the dialogue between the perceived and the conceived. The lived space is, therefore, the one connected to the action of subjects in their space. It is in this space that "conflicts and struggles" happen (Serpa 2005, 222). It is, therefore, where the materialization of the daily life of those who interpret the space takes place, appropriating it according to their changing.

Schmid (2012, p.101) observes that the concept of lived space also reveals the phenomenological point of reference contained in Lefebvre's theory, whose understands that the lived space cannot be understood historically without the conceived space. Moreover, the lived space is also a product of the experience gained in the perceived space. It is in this sense that the lived space presents itself as a social production of what was perceived. It is, therefore, the most emblematic spatial expression of the world as it is experienced by humans in their everyday life practices. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that even the perceived and conceived spaces are not products of anything else rather of the society. The lived space is a place of conflicts, where one practices or does not practice what was perceived, in spite of the fact that even the denial of a certain practice is still an influence of the perceived on the lived space.

The spaces of the representation are thus experienced or lived spaces which represent something. For the understanding of the lived space, it is according to Schmid (2005, p. 223), crucial to approach Lefebvre's terminology until its completion. The spaces of representation are not representations of space, and they do not refer to space itself, but to another, a dialectical social production or construction. They represent social values, traditions, dreams, and no less important, collective experiences and occurrences.

---

[32] "[…] el espacio de los «habitantes», de los «usuarios», pero también el de ciertos artistas y quizá de aquellos novelistas y filósofos que describen y sólo aspiran a describer" (Lefebvre 2013, 98).

1.1.3. Production of space: preliminary conclusive thoughts

Lefebvre conceives space as a production process, which takes place on three dialectically interlinked dimensions. These dimensions are defined twice by Lefebvre that, accordingly, are also received as a double denomination: on the one hand, stand for the "perceived", the "conceived", and the "lived". These are terms that expose the strong influence of French phenomenology on Lefebvre's academic path. On the other hand, Lefebvre uses the spatial terms "spatial practices", "representations of space", and "spaces of representation", which are based on his own, three-dimensional dialectical theory. According to Schmid (2005), these three dimensions remain initially in floating determinacy: "loyal to his epistemological premises, these dimensions are introduced as the first approximation, whose scope Lefebvre explores and modifies in the course of his theoretical path"[33] (Schmid 2005, p. 243).

In this respect, two crucial aspects of Lefebvrean theory deserve mention: First, as Schmid (ibid.) had pointed out, Lefebvre explicitly does not proceed from three independent "worlds", such as Popper's critical rationalism, but from three dialectically interconnected dimensions of the production of space. Last, but not least, it is necessary to differentiate the Lefebvrean theory of the production of space from some basic concepts and ideas of psychoanalytic theory, though there are certain similarities between them. In psychoanalytical concepts and ideas, these psychological processes take place within the individual, whereas Lefebvre takes an external perspective of these processes and, therefore, he treats society as a whole. Although these "inner-soul" processes also constitute social practices, Lefebvre certainly does not try to trace these processes back into the "inner" of the individual. Instead, he treats them as a material instance. In other words, he tries to analyze their incorporation into social products as, for example, the language.

Nevertheless, this comparison, which results in the observation of these similarities, does not fail to make evident the approximation of the Lefebvrean theory of the production of space with the Werlenean theory of geographic-making based in action, which has a strong constructivist influence, as I will discuss in the next section. Although Lefebvre never mentioned in these terms (and never followed in this epistemological-methodological direction), my interpretation is that his theory also comes very close to the constructivist approaches, making even possible, in my view, to speak of a theory of the social "construction of space". For Lefebvre, space is unfinished, continually produced and always associated with the time that is never dissociated from it. In this aspect, Schmid (2012, p.91) and Araújo (2015, p.95) emphasize that the relational concepts of time and space are the presuppositions of the theory, given that space represents simultaneity, the synchronic order of social reality. Time, on the other hand,

[33] „Getreu seiner erkenntnistheoretischen Prämissen führt sie Lefebvre als erste Annäherung ein, deren Gültigkeitsbereich er erkundet, und die er im Verlauf seiner theoretischen Streifzüge modifiziert" (Schmid 2005, S. 243).

denotes the diachronic order and, in this way, the historical process of the social production of space. Thus, it is important that the analysis of the production of space does not limit itself to dealing with the issues of the present. Its process, namely, its past, must also be clarified and understood as a constitutive feature of the social production of space. Such feature can be seen in the urbanization processes analyzed in the present work, where the urban space expresses past marks that are evidence of this social production.

The theory of the production of space must be further developed in non-dogmatic and dialectical interaction with empirical research. Schmid (2005, p. 333) ensures that when he claims that Lefebvre developed his categories on a formal level. "He filled them with examples, made them kaleidoscopic, lending them metaphilosophical depth. Going out from this poetic indeterminacy results in concrete problems in the application of the theory, which, however, can only be solved in this application itself"[34] (Schmid 2005, p. 333). Approaching it somehow differently, Lefebvre helps us to think of the world as a certain utopia. A utopia that is not Platonic and that instigates us to see the social relations of the "real world" as a bundle of possibilities that does not separate, in a dichotomic way, what is desired of what is practiced. In this sense, Matias (2016, p. 164) points out that for Lefebvre utopia is a daily objective that must guide life and, at the same time, it must be tracked by the subjects.

1.2. Werlen's action-centered theory of geography making

As previously mentioned, the present work has one of its theoretical foundation from the action-centered perspective of geography-making, proposed by Benno Werlen (1993, 2000a, 2007, 2008, and 2010), for whom, in the interrelationship between man and space, action should replace space as a key concept of geographical research. For the author, space cannot be the primary object of theoretical and empirical research any longer, but rather, the spatiality, which concerns how individuals relate to space through their actions. Werlen claims that through the *perspective centered in action* and the denial of "[…] space as a starting point in itself, our focus shifts to the corporeal subject, the corporeality of the actor, in the context of subjective, socio-cultural and material specific conditions" (Werlen 2000a, p. 12). Thus, the starting point should lead to a perspective that emphasizes the subjective act (*agency*) as the only source of action and, therefore, of change, as the same way we emphasize that the social and material world conforms to social actions that produce it (ibid). In contrast to Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, Werlen's theory promotes the understanding—through a perspective focused on the subjective constructions of social spatialities—of the entanglements of the

[34] „Er füllte sie mit Beispielen, liess sie kaleidoskopisch schillern und verlieh ihnen dadurch metaphilosophischen Tiefgang. Ausgehen von dieser poetischen Unbestimmtheit ergeben sich konkrete Probleme in der Anwendung, die jedoch nur in der Anwendung selbst gelöst werden können" (Schmid 2005, S. 333).

subject's daily relations with space (the urban space in this specific case), which Werlen (2007) recognizes as *everyday regionalizations*.

Benno Werlen has always been one of the most prominent German-speaking social geographers (Sahr 2000). His proposal for a "social geography of the everyday regionalizations" (2007), based on an adaptation of the sociology of Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration (1984), is widely discussed in the context of human geography. The publication of Werlen's doctoral thesis in 1986 *"Gesellschaft, Handlung und Raum"* (Society, Action, and Space) drew attention to its theoretical fruitfulness. However, he also received strong criticism among geographers for denying the "space" category as the foundation of geographical knowledge. Thus, Werlen's work became, besides being provocative, a contribution to a new epistemological reflection on geography. Benno Werlen's professional trajectory shows a strong individuality in his scientific approach, associated with broad international recognition of his work. The simultaneous integration of three distinct contexts of geographic epistemology, the German, French, and English contexts, makes Werlen a paramount contributor to a new theoretical orientation of international geography (Sahr 2000).

One of the most striking influences of Werlen's work was that on Wolfgang Hartke, who was a salient proponent for the development of Social Geography in Germany after World War II. Hartke (1962) believed that making geography means the continuation of politics with peaceful means. Conceptually, Hartke starts from the assumption that we all do geographies. In the society-space relation, however, this approach gives preference to the role of *agency* and places the space on a secondary condition (Hartke 1962). Sahr (2000) analyzes that according to this way of thinking, the landscape turns into a simple reflection of human activities and their values. Sahr (2000) recalls that in a very interesting research project, Hartke (1956) demonstrates, for example, how many fertile lands became vacant in the surroundings of Frankfurt am Main after the War. The reason for this phenomenon is that farmers changed their lifestyles by taking up jobs in the city (Hartke 1956 as cited in Sahr 2000, p. 12). The role of Wolfgang Hartke definitely cannot be overlooked. Almost twenty years before the appearance of the humanist geography, he already emphasized human actions as fundamental elements in the construction of space. Thus, he becomes the great intellectual initiator of progressive German-speaking social geography.

Werlen played a key role in the 1980's with the rebound of Hartke's work. He contributed to the debate in German Social Geography at that time as a counteracting act against the traditional regional geography that had committed itself to Fascism during the Third Reich and rejected the approach of humanist geography, viewed by these geographers as exclusively philosophical (Sahr 2000). In his works at that time, Werlen seeks references in the frame of critical rationalism and phenomenology, looking for the

motivations of the agency. "Finally, Wolfgang Hartke's challenge was answered with this new Social Geography"[35] (Sahr 2000, p. 14).

In general, Werlen (1993), claims that social geography research should be a space-oriented science of action but not a science of space. There is, therefore, no rejection of the concept of space *per se* in geographical science. Werlen rejects only the ontological basis of geography in space. In order to obtain a social-geographical research based on the theory of action it is necessary to reconsider—according to his view—the role of the subject as an actor and as the starting point of a new configuration of geography, and this is why he seeks for support in an ontology of the social facts. These facts result from individuals acting between holistic and individualistic perspectives. This methodological individualism simultaneously considers individual elements, such as the body itself and the mentality, together with social elements, such as language, economics, and political relations. "In this sense, Werlen spatializes Giddens's theory of structuration and develops a new foundation in geography"[36] (Sahr 2000, p. 15).

It is precisely in this context that the analysis of the agency of the individuals belonging to urban social movements in Hamburg and Recife is strongly based on the Werlenean theory in the sense of the constitution of e*veryday regionalizations* (Werlen 2007). In modern societies of late capitalism, the lived world becomes quite flexible due to the preponderance of action over the structure, which results in regionalized lived worlds. Regionalization means—in this context and according to Werlen—not simply the definition of limits of a given space, but rather, the continuous process of negotiation of this space. The understanding of regionalization as a social activity rather than a result of traditional geographical allotments and configurations points now to a new path. Werlen understands lived worlds as spaces that are permanently formed through processes of quite individualized regionalizations that are negotiated among the citizens.

Concerning the dissemination and the scope of Benno Werlen's theory of action in the midst of Brazilian geography, it is possible to affirm that, unfortunately, it is still less widespread. Efforts such as the publication of Sahr (2000) and the translation into Portuguese by Haesbaert (2000) of a paper of Werlen about his general ideas started the diffusion of the Werleanean theory in Brazil; however, it still requires other contributions and publications. Under these conditions, this thesis intends to strengthen the scientific dialogue of Brazilian geography with German geography through a dialectical and postcolonial perspective, even if this effort is, primarily, still carried out in English.

It is important to mention, however, that Milton Santos—the most influential Brazilian geographer—was one of the few authors in the country who refers to Werlen's work and his theoretical contributions. In *"A Natureza do Espaco"* (1997), on the one

---

35 "Finalmente, o desafio de Wolfgang Hartke era respondido nessa nova geografia social" (Sahr 2000, p.14)

36 "Neste sentido, Werlen espacializa a teoria da estruturacao de Giddens e desenvolve uma nova fundamentacao na geografia" (Sahr 2000, p. 15)

hand, Santos criticizes the obsolescence of materiality in Werlen's reflections, but on the other hand, agrees with a geography of the everyday life. "Benno Werlen and Milton Santos are not as far apart as they may seem"[37] (Sahr 2000, p. 18). The ontology of space proposed by Santos is based on the idea of the hybrid between action and objects, which is an allusion to Anthony Gidden's idea of structuration. Giddens speaks of a "structure" as opposition/complement to action, which is not necessarily material. Santos refers to the "system of objects", in which the term "object", in fact, seems to refer to materiality. In a closer look, however, it can be seen that Santos also concerns social facts as objects, thus pointing in the same direction as Werlen (Sahr 2000).

Before going further on into the entanglements of Werlen's theory, it is necessary to delineate its epistemological-methodological origin. As for Lefebvrian theory—which the bases of dialectics make up this background—for Werlenean theory, the precepts of constructivism form this epistemological-methodological basis.

1.2.1. The constructivist approach

Scientific research—in the sense of the constructivism—has its roots strongly attached to the humanities and also to the social sciences. This theoretical-methodologic approach is based on the assumption that an objective and material reality exists, which, however, in its "real" nature is not experienced by man (Berger and Luckmann 1967). According to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, "reality is socially constructed and that sociology of knowledge must analyze the process in which this occurs" (ibid. 1). Alternatively, Vivien Burr (1995) claims that constructivism insists that we take a critical stance toward our "taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world, including ourselves. It invites us to be critical of the idea that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us, to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world" (Burr 1995, p. 2-3). Following the constructivist tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1967), it is possible to claim that everyday life presents itself as a reality interpreted by men and subjectively meaningful to them as a coherent world. Moreover, everyday life is a world that originates in thoughts and actions of subjects and is maintained as real by these (ibid. 20). That is why one can assume that subjects are conscious of the world as consisting of multiple realities. "I recognize the fellowmen I must deal with in the course of everyday life as pertaining to a reality quite different from the disembodied figures that appear in my dreams" (ibid. 21).

Thus, the core idea of constructivist approaches is also that "reality" of everyday life is shared with others. Burr questions if our knowledge of the world and ways of understanding is not derived from the nature of the world as it really is; "where does it

[37] "Benno Werlen e Milton Santos não estão tão distantes um do outro como pode parecer" (Sahr 2000, p.18).

come from?" (Burr 1995, p. 4). Constructivist tradition claims that people construct it between them. "It is through daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated" (idem). Constructivist research traditions in the humanities and social sciences are, therefore, less concerned with the search for the objective world, but rather with the question of what role the social constructions as an element of communication and as structuring principles of the society plays. Such a more interpretive-understanding form of the scientific work must also be aware of its positionality and not only consider but also evaluate its results appropriately as constructions about constructions (ibid. 13).

In respect to qualitative research, constructivist assumptions (for example, by Schütz 1971 or Berger and Luckmann 1967) question the social, cultural or historical conventionalizations that influence perceptions and knowledge in everyday life. Alfred Schütz (1971, p.5) claims that all facts become only relevant in relation to their meanings and interpretations. According to him, there is no such a thing as a pure and simple fact, because facts are always selected from a universal context through our processes of consciousness. That is why they are always *interpreted facts* that either are detached from their context in artificial abstraction or are only seen in their particular context. "Therefore, in both cases, the facts carry with them their inner and outer interpretive horizon."[38] (Schütz 1971, p.5)

Knowledge and its function—according to the constructivist approach—are also described as constructions. Schütz (1971) relies on the premise that our whole knowledge about the world, either scientific or everyday ordinary thinking, comprehends constructions: a set of abstractions, generalizations, idealizations, and formalizations. Uwe Flick et al. (2017) claim that for Schütz, every form of knowledge is constructed through selection and structuration processes. These forms differ according to the "degree of structuration and idealization, which depends on their functions: more concrete as the basis of everyday action or more abstract as a model in scientific theorizing"[39] (Flick et al. 2017, p. 153). This comprehension will be used within the present work to assimilate the everyday social-spatial constructions of the subjects within their contexts of the social movements. In relation to geographic-making, Werlen (1995) calls for the investigation and research of those geographies that are made daily and reproduced by the acting subjects from different positions of power. Thus, following the tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1967), who describe any reality as socially constructed, Werlen also explains space as being constructed.

---

38 „Daher tragen in beiden Fällen die Tatsachen ihren interpretativen inneren und äußeren Horizont mit sich" (Schütz 1971, S. 5)

39 „Die einzelnen Formen unterscheiden sich nach dem Grad der Strukturierung und Idealisierung, der von ihren Funktionen – konkreter als Basis alltäglichen Handelns oder abstrakter als Modell in der wissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung – abhängt" (Flick et al. 2017, S. 153)

1.2.2. Action-centered social geography

The changing of political maps and technological inventions in production, transport, and communication are some of the most outstanding facets of contemporary transformations of social realities that happen on different levels. Werlen (2000b) claims that all these technological inventions are responsible for an extraordinary new situation that we are facing in our days, namely, the globalization processes of nearly all domains of the day to day life. The relation of the constant changes of political maps and the processes of globalization is responsible for the new aspects in the interrelations of the social and the spatial. Globalization and also regionalization are two forms of contemporary social phenomena that have extraordinary importance and that involve, in one or the other form, a spatial component. At the same time, globalization and regionalization are important parts of most different forms of political discourses and expressions of a specific combination of 'social', 'cultural', 'economical', and 'spatial' aspects (Werlen 2000b).

Werlen (2000a) claims that for a better understanding of the importance of space in the globalization process, we should—first of all—concentrate on the fundamental principles of globalization and not on space. This categorical change implies a shift in perspective; from "geography of objects" to the "geographies of the subjects". Referring to the subjects, Werlen (2000a) affirms that globalization is nothing other than the expression of a new form of everyday "geography-making," and regionalization is not the 'container' spaces and societies any longer. It has rather been understood as a process of what Werlen (2000a) calls "world-binding." Thus, what is needed is to understand 'space' as an aspect of action and therefore as a social construct with changing significance for different aspects of globalized lifeworlds.

According to Werlen (2004), a proper understanding of the relationship between society and space has to be able to take into account the new ontology of the social world. For him, what is necessary is a scientific approach that is not alienated from the forms of modern and current late-modern life and produced by the subjects, despite the ideological discourses of fundamentalist, nationalist, or regionalist movements. Based on this, one can conclude that the strength of the social world should be—within a sociocultural context—primarily attributed to the subject, not to space, place, or region. Thus, based on Werlen (2009a), and his perspective of geographical research focused on action, we can say that this shift in focus leads—if taken radically—to a shift in research perspective. "From the regional representation of sociocultural, economic, and political realities to geographical research into the constitutive processes of (everyday) regionalization and their different spatial-temporal reaches" (ibid. 289).

Werlen assumes, therefore, that the object of geography research cannot be countries or even the space for itself, but rather, it must be human activities under special spatial conditions. Instead of the research of Earth's surface, it is needed to elect as a

task, the research agenda of geographies that are constructed and produced daily by social actors from different dimensions of power. The starting point of a research agenda, which is not guided by the spatial paradigma, is according to Werlen, the acknowledgment that people create not only their histories but also their geographies under conditions that has not been defined by them. Thus, investigating and researching the conditions and ways of this geography making, should be the main focus of modern conceptualizations of human geography, since that geographical research fixed on space tends to provide inappropriate representations of social processes of contemporary, late modern societies.

Spatial focused approaches could have been carried out for a long time within human geography, and that could have only been possible because traditional societies presented high space-time stability. Otherwise, the weak points of the space-centered approaches would come into light much earlier. On traditional societies, as I will approach in the next section, it is possible to affirm that space and time components are inwardly connected. This was observed in the fact that communication was bound to the surroundings of proximity between partners of communication. Under such circumstances, the body remains as an expression vehicle of informational content. The constitution of meanings of the sociocultural world could only be realized, firstly, within the scope of corporeal presence. In an antagonistic way, contemporary societies and cultures do not present a circumscribed existence. Hence it is not possible any longer to keep comprehending them within the geographical research as spatial configurations. Although regional and spatial conditions of socio-cultural processes are still relevant, we cannot just easily conclude that contemporary societies of late modernity can be analyzed through spatial categories (Werlen 2000b).

As a follow-up to the discussion of Werlenean action theory, I will now present Werlen's description of the ideal types of the spatial and temporal conditions of action, or in other words, the two ideal types of social-spatial relations. These are the traditional life forms/societies and the contemporary life forms/societies of the late modernity. As emphasized by Juliane Suchy (2017) these are only ideal types—scientific models that are not necessarily to be found in everyday reality. "They point out, however, which development current late modern societies went through, but represent, however, no restraint or no linear development of all societies"[40] (ibid. 10). By the formulation of these ideal types, Werlen (2009b, p. 104) wants to illustrate how the changes in society can be described regarding space and time and what effects this brings to the scientific debate.

[40] „Sie markieren aber pointiert, welche Entwicklung derzeitige späte moderne Gesellschaften durchliefen, stellen aber keine Zwang oder keine lineare Entwicklung aller Gesellschaften dar" (Suchy 2017, p. 10).

Traditional life forms

Traditional life form types are characterized by high temporal stability and a narrow spatial boundary. The temporal attachment is reflected in the dominance of traditions, and these link past and present, forming landmarks and justifying certain everyday practices. In other words, stability over time or embeddedness in temporal respect is founded in the domination of traditions and these "interrelate the past with the present and are the central frame of reference for action orientation and legitimization in daily praxis" (Werlen 2000b, p. 26). Kinship, tribal or rank status govern social relationships and factors such as origin, age or gender determine the social position.

The embeddedness in spatial terms results from the locomotion and communication possibilities. The dominant importance of walking as means of locomotion and the limited significance of writing restrict the cultural expression to the local and regional level. Therefore, communication is characterized by face-to-face contacts and the local village represents the familiar life context. Additionally, as claimed by Werlen (2000b), production processes have to respect natural conditions because of the humble technical development. "Economies are consequently highly adapted to the prevailing physical conditions" (ibid. 27).

Finally, for traditional life forms and societies, it is not only relevant to realize certain activities at a certain time, but also in a certain place, and as stated by Werlen (2000b), sometimes even with certain spatial orientation. In this way, social regulations and activity patterns are reproduced and enforced by spatial-temporal processes in a nonreflexive way. Characteristic of traditional life forms is, consequently, the unity of socio-cultural and spatial-temporal dimensions of activities that become the basis for dominant reification processes. Exactly by this process of reification that space and time are enriched and filled up with specific meanings.

Late modern life forms

Within late-modern societies, however, traditions do not pervade all spheres of life any longer, although they are not completely irrelevant. Individual decisions play yet a substantially bigger role, and social relations are practically not regulated from kinship anymore. Instead of that, economic and professional activities gained emphasis, which results due to the fact that social positions are reached through processes of production, without being necessarily related to the age and soon—as Werlen (2000a) hopes—even to gender.

Locomotion and communication progress that are accessible to many people in modern and late modern societies enable such mobility and communicative exchange through greater distances which are unique at the history of humanity. The individual freedom of communication and locomotion, as can be observed, especially, in Western

society, jointly with the freedom of settlement leads to a mixture of some different cultures in a limited space. This cultural mixture or intersection it is associated with global communication systems, where consequences are still problematic to foresee. In any case, they enable aggregation and dissemination of information not bound to face-to-face interactions anymore. This does not mean that they lose their importance, but it is necessary to point out that they do not represent the only dominant way of communication any longer.

Cultures and societies of late modernity are not spatially and temporally ingrained as were the traditional societies. They are, first of all, in many senses "disembedded" (Giddens 1984) and at the same time, the conditions, forms, and politics of current life were inserted within the dialectical relationship between global and local. This means that the local and global contexts are related to each other since global events have local origins—as well as local action—have global consequences.

From this point of view, our lifestyles have also global consequences. The way that we eat, for example, does not influence only the local or regional economy, but also the global chain of food production. Lifestyles and everyday politics of each social actor are profoundly inserted in global processes. As emphasized by Werlen (2000b), societies of late modernity are the expression of a high level of consciousness and rational autoregulation of social actors. The explanation for this fact is that traditions do not give the direction of actions anymore and the consequences of what we did are not reduced to local contexts any longer.

In this sense, we assume that under current conditions it is possible to observe that the traditional/regional way of geographic representation of reality is loaded with great inaccuracy. Considering the conditions of late modernity, it becomes clear that geographies that are hooked and focused on space provide inappropriate representations of social processes. Local, regional or national events could not be exclusively interpreted as an expression of local, regional or national social forms—as have been being mainly done in human geography until the present moment.

As a central topic on this shift on the focus of the geography-making, Werlen (2010) considers that instead of the search for explanations and descriptions of the social world under spatial categories, our efforts should have been concentrated by presenting elucidations, with *categories of action*, of the so-called spatial data. More precisely, geographers should have been capable of presenting explanations for human actions—relating, for example, legitimate and narrow aspects of the material, subjective and sociocultural components of action.

Werlen claims that we need a differentiated reference to social actors' actions of their social, cultural, and economic, specific material conditions to reach a deeper comprehension of the contemporary world. We also need that to understand how social actors, from different levels of power, are re-planning their geographies, not only in the

cognitive sense. To put it simply, this conception of social geography research consists of not observing the space as a primary object of research, but human activities—the action. The conduction of this geographic research should not be guided according to the spatial-regional geography, but according to a social geography of the conditions of life and action in its variable scales—local, regional, national, global.

1.2.3. Categories of action

With the "disembedding" mechanisms of globalization in late-modernity becoming more and more effective, spatialization processes and the progressive embedding of social life in global structures evolve into increasingly unimportant deterministic ways of arguing. These argument, based on spatial determinism, are increasingly losing the basis for rationalization so that a shift of paradigms is now taking place.

Suchy (2017) reminds that if the geographical research deals with social realities, instead of spatial containers aspects, as human geography predicts, then the focus should be on those conditions that underlie the constitution of such realities. These are to be sought in the social conditions and not in the physical-material conditions *per se*. Considering that intangible realities cannot be spatially localized, the focus of the whole scientific work changes. "Consequently, people's actions should be the focus and spatiality should be seen as a dimension of action"[41] (Werlen 2008, p. 309 as cited in Suchy 2017, p. 11). The starting point of this action-centered human geography is, therefore, the analysis of the geography making about the reasons and social backgrounds of action, and subsequently, it is necessary to evaluate the significance of physical-material conditions in their spatiality (Werlen 2007, p. 64).

Werlen (2008, p.313) sees human activities in the sense of action as an intentional act, in which both subjective socio-cultural and physical-material components can be meaningful. In this sense, reflection and intention play an active role in defining a particular goal of an action, the resources available to achieve this goal and the possible constraints of the action. Thus, Werlen (1993, p. 101) refers to these two following features of human action: the *reflexivity* and the *intentionality*. As I will further approach, both features are found in all the categories of action proposed by Werlen.

Reflexivity is based upon consciousness and its capacity for imagination and consideration. Only the reflexivity allows a revision of the agency processes and human action is only then understandable. However, as emphasized by Werlen (2008, p. 314), this could not be understood like all actions are always well reflected *a priori*. Instead, it is only about the potential possibility of reflection. The emphasis on the reflexivity of action highlights, at the same time, that certain degrees of freedom are always open to

[41] „Folglich sind die Handlungen der Menschen ins Zentrum zu rücken und Räumlichkeit sollte als Dimension des Handelns betracht werden" (Werlen 2008, p. 309 as cited in Suchy 2017, p. 11).

this character, and this means that action is not casually determined (Werlen 2007, p.135 as cited in Suchy 2017, p.14).

Regarding *intentionality*, one can assume that the classical theories of action always take into account that human agency is an intentional activity. This means that actions are guided by a purpose. Each action is guided by a goal, "designed for a specific target" (Suchy 2017, p. 14), to bring about (as a purpose) a change in the world. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the starting point of an action is the intention, not the persuasion or any information of the external environment. Suchy (2017) reinforces this in an enlightening way by remembering that focusing on subjective intentions, Werlen (1993) discards and breaks with the deterministic (space and external conditions determine action) and behaviorist (external stimuli control action or cause a reaction) standards and can thus consistently elaborate his new social geography based on human action.

As mentioned previously, the categories of action became a crucial part of Werlen's theory, which will guide the analysis through this perspective and the constitution of everyday regionalizations at different spatial levels. This is his attempt of developing an action-based theory of social geography, highlighting the subjective agency. With these categories, Werlen (1993) aims to establish a more precise description and explanation of human activity, clarifying the social contexts of human action and the conditions under which subjective agency affects the physical world. According to Werlen's sociological background of social geography, he focuses on the differentiation between three main categories/models of action, namely: *purposive-rational*, *normative,* and the *intersubjective understanding* (*communicative)* (Werlen 1993).

These action models are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they have produced specific judgment criteria for problematic aspects of human action (Werlen 1993, p. 103). Depending on the researcher's perspective, the corresponding basic action category must then be assumed. Each approach addresses a specific dimension of action and hides, therefore, the others. It is important to know which category fits within which area of competence, so it can then be decided how to conceptualize action and space. It is important to mention that Werlen does not intend to go into each category of action in detail. The aim of the following systematic analysis is much more to "identify the sociological points of departure in the development of an action theory for social geography in more detail" (Werlen 1993, p. 103). According to my observation, this development of a theory through the categories/models of action has much more to do with its entanglement with the development of a systematization/conceptualization of the *everyday regionalizations,* which is central for the present research, as I will further approach in this chapter.

For *purposive-rational* actions and its relation to space, the social constitution of space is based on the metric aspect, and it enables a calculative orientation and order. Rationality and geo-metric aspects are tied up close, and both are core expression of

"what Max Weber called the de-mystification of the world" (Werlen 2000b, p. 24). In the sense of spatial aspects, the *purposive-rational* action is mainly associated with the formal understanding of space, and this is the main pre-condition of the rational calculation of spatial extensions. Social reality is defined here as a given environment and the main issue is thus to understand by which means can agents successfully gear into it. "Rational choice theory analyses more closely the choice between alternative means within the framework of a given goal" (Werlen 1993, p. 102). Regarding the purpose orientation, it is assumed that, through their actions, subjects want to minimize effort and costs and maximize benefits. The corresponding ideal types are *homo rationalis* and *homo oeconomicus* (Werlen 2007, p.234). In these cases, the examination of technical problem aspects and their solution with the help of the search for appropriate means for given goals plays a decisive role, which is characteristic of the *purposive-rational* action.

The *normative* action "goes beyond the investigation of goals and the alternative means to achieve them, analyzing the various kinds of orientation of action towards cultural values and social norms" (Werlen 1993, p. 102). It refers to the ability of subjects to take norms and rules into consideration. The interrelation of action and space in the *norm-oriented* context leads to territorializations. This aspect refers to the relation between body, material context, and normative prescription in the sense that in some spaces a number of actions are authorized and in other spaces they are not. This kind of territorialization as a prescriptive form of regionalization rules the inclusion and exclusion of actors. However, as emphasized by Werlen (2000b), "the most prominent combination of norm, body, and space is certainly the nation-state and its territorial binding of law, court, territorial organization of bureaucracy, surveillance, and control of the means of violence by police and army forces" (Werlen 2000b, p. 25). The corresponding ideal type is the *homo sociologicus* (Werlen 2007, p.194) and the use of such category is meaningful if the social order or the cultural and social values and norms are relevant in the choice of the purpose of the action.

Werlen considers the *intersubjective understanding (communicative)* action model as the most comprehensive basis for an analysis of the social world. Thus, because not only are the choice of means or norm-reference themes investigated but so are also the constitution of goals and the meaning-contents of human action. Werlen (1993) reminds Schutz, who is concerned to discover the preconditions which make *communication* possible between the various subjects in a society, and the existence of the social world in general, which refers to—according to my view—to human action. Regarding the relation between the *intersubjective understanding* model and space, Werlen (2000b) claims that the spatial orientations are also predominantly body-centered. The body is the functional link between experience and meaning, and therefore, the operational basis of subjective action. The communicative-oriented theories examine subjective abilities about the meaningful constitution of different realms of reality that arise from the subject's action. The symbolic meaning-contents are, therefore, the result of the interplay

between knowledge, intention, and materiality. It is attributed to the ideal type *homo communicans* that it produces constitutional capacity according to the current form of his stock of knowledge (Werlen 2007, p.210). The biographical context of experience based on the constitution of meaning is in the foreground when examining the purpose orientation of *intersubjective understanding* (*communicative)* action (Suchy 2017, p. 16).

Werlen (2007, p.235) explains that the social-geographical research can in principle be built on any of these categories of action. It then has to be clarified in each case how the respective competences of the categories of action can be compared with the analysis of the relationship between action and space. For the present work, such task represents the main practical activity whereas analyzing the subjects and individuals actions in their context of the urban social movements and consequently, the constitution of the different types of *everyday regionalizations*. In this regard, I would affirm that this is exactly the main reason why Werlenean categories of action are pertinent for conducting this research, not only theoretically, but mainly empirically.

1.2.4. The constitution of everyday regionalizations

The most important entanglement of the categorization of the action models for the present research concerns the constitution of the different types of everyday regionalizations that were proposed by Werlen (2007). Related to the categories of action, three major groups of regionalizations are distinguished based on the Werlenean action theory: *productive-consumptive, normative-political, and informative-significative* (ibid). These types of regionalization provide the roots of a new systematization of human geography and, for this reason, gives a base to the empirical research of the present work with the urban social movements.

It was already discussed that the traditional regional geography should have been replaced by a social geographical perspective of the regionalization of the everyday world. In other words, it should have been replaced by a social geography of empirical research on the reconstruction of the regionalizations at the local and global level. On the one side, this is through what we produce, consume, and reproduce, and on the other side, it is through different accesses of different actors and categories of action to the power of disposition over personal and material resources of the transformation of modern relations.

What exactly does Werlen mean with *everyday regionalizations*? To the specific case of the present research, it could be understood as the corporeality and action of the subjects belonging to the social movements, while using, accessing, and occupying diverse kinds of urban spaces and fighting for the right to the city. This is the representation of the spatiality of the individuals in face-to-face relationships. According to Werlen (2000a), *everyday regionalizations* can be understood as elements of the subject's everyday life

considering that the subject is spatial and spatializes the world through his or her practices, depending on their lifestyle, or through their culturally embedded everyday actions. "The bodies of the actors perceive the others directly as fields of expression of ego and alter ego consciousness" (Werlen 2000a, p. 11).

So, what types of everyday regionalizations or geographical life-worlds under globalized conditions has Werlen (2000b, 2007) identified? Regionalizations are therefore to be understood as "world-binding"—as practices of linking meaning and matter. In referring to action and structuration theory, three main types of everyday regionalizations of life-worlds—as already mentioned—could be thematized.

MAIN-TYPES	SUB-TYPES
PRODUCTIVE – CONSUMPTIVE	Geographies of production Geographies of consumption
NORMATIVE – POLITICAL	Geographies of normative appropriation Geographies of political control
INFORMATIVE – SIGNIFICATIVE	Geographies of information knowledge Geographies of symbolic appropriation

Figure 2: Main and sub-types of globalized everyday geographies (Werlen 2000b/2007)

The *productive-consumptive* regionalizations (Werlen 2000b, 2007) focus on the economic dimension of everyday practice along with rational purpose-based access. How do subjects produce geographies by placing objects for particular activities and how do they create and maintain a certain order of objects by means of consumption is in the foreground here. According to Suchy (2017, p. 18), this is about presenting the economic actions from the perspective of the subjects, not just the analysis of the relations of production. In this sense, there can be no fixed/specific area of the economy. Rather, different areas of life can be interpreted from an economic point of view, as long as the subjects interpret the corresponding actions in the spectrum of economic activity by themselves. The everyday *geographies of production* are the most obvious manifestation of this type of everyday regionalization, which happens in the form of the location decisions for facilities production. Under current globalized conditions, the spatial locations are still relevant, but the division of labor and the resulting differentiation between positions, production methods, and product references have been greatly revolutionized and achieved main importance (Werlen 2008 as cited in Suchy 2017, p. 18). All in all, the purpose of the analysis of this main type of regionalization—according to Werlen (2000b)—is not the explanation of spatial patterns, but much more the reconstruction of the global implications of subjects locally based life forms.

The second domain of everyday regionalizations concerns the *normative-political* interpretations of zones of actions and territories. This domain considers ideas of dealing with authoritative resources. The geographies of political control and the geographies of normative appropriations are closely related to each other, but as emphasized by Suchy (2017), they could be reasonably separated analytically. While the geographies of normative appropriations are focused on the body and the corporeality of the individuals, as by the specific gender or ethnic groups regionalizations, the geographies of political control focus more on the control of subjects through their physical presence and the means of using force/violence (Werlen 2007, p. 250). Werlen also claims that the factor "power" plays a special role, and therefore, having power over space means having power over subjects through access to their bodies. The most striking examples of *normative-political* regionalizations are the national states within the meaning of the scope of national law, but also the different standards of behavior and regulation of the use of public places. For the present research, this category will be of extreme importance, considering that urban social movements are in constant conflict with the economic and political powers due to the regulation and management of the use of urban space aiming a democratic outline of the urban life of the inhabitants of the city. It is therefore important to understand that geographies of political control focus on linking political control and spatiality and these include the connection of rights, norms, and laws with space.

Finally, the third domain of everyday regionalizations regards to understand how the constitution process of subject's stock of knowledge is linked to global telecommunication and how this affects symbolization processes. According to Werlen (2000b), this kind of *informative-significative* social geography is first of all interested in the conditions of communication, information networks and how some particular individuals have access to such means of communication. This domain focuses not only on the constitution of the stock of knowledge but also on the constitution of meaning-contents. The types of meaning constructions always depend on the available knowledge. As the types of knowledge dissemination change so do the form of knowledge acquisition and, accordingly, also the foundations of meaning construction (Suchy 2017, p. 20). In late modern societies, as previously discussed, the way in which knowledge is generated and disseminated through medial, global, and simultaneous communication is fundamentally different from traditional forms of life. In no other domain of everyday geographies has this matter as much importance as in the *geography of information*. The reference to information flows naturally and their control and prerequisites, as well as the discussion of the processes of information acquisition. In this sense, it is also worth mentioning how this domain plays a specific role in the present work. Information and knowledge are valuable goods that are exchanged—using a great number of medial means—through individuals belonging to urban social movements, or even in an intricate and connected network of urban social movements.

1.3. Production of space and constitution of everyday regionalizations: interim conclusions

As previously mentioned, the present work is embedded and focused on a praxis-centered geographical analysis of globalization's influence on the urbanization processes and the urban living conditions in contemporary times. This analysis is based on an overlap between the Lefebvrean theory of the production of space and the Werlenean action-centered theory of geography-making with its constructivist basis, as presented and discussed in this chapter. The unfolding of the theoretical discussions of this work, as well as the empirical findings, will demonstrate how these theories are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary. This juxtaposition of theories, therefore, builds the basis of this work, since the common focal point here are social practices with respect to the production of urban space and the constitution of everyday regionalizations in the framework of societal spatial relations in two different urban contexts.

Lefebvre considers space as being socially produced and the focus of his theory lays, thus, on the process, in other words, the production process. The social process of the production of space is understood through three dimensions that are dialectically and mutually (simultaneously) related to each other: the perceived space, the conceived space, and the lived space. Moreover, Lefebvre reminds that space is not a passive concept. As a product, space intervenes in production process itself, joining actively in the relations of production. Therefore—as was also witnessed in the empirical analysis in Recife and Hamburg—the production process of urban space in these cities, is perceived, conceived and lived according to different perspectives and interests of different social actors, namely, the public administration, the forces of the capital, and the inhabitants and their most variable associations, such as social movements. Thus, bearing in mind, that the social space is a social product, urban spaces could only emerge in this complex interaction between the different Lefebvre's spatial dimensions, as will be presented in the next chapter on the different facets and developments of the urbanization process.

The Werlenean theory, in turn, can be understood within this work as a complement to Lefebvre's theory, by dedicating itself to the idea of action as the only source of production/constitution of socio-spatial relations. The focus is thus redirected to the subjective act (agency), and not to space, which fits perfectly to a broader comprehension of the continuation and entanglements of this research. The understanding of the two different faces of the capitalist urban phenomenon is thus optimized through different sources of action and the social actors' different ideas of simultaneity of the spatial dimensions. This subject's daily relations with space is for Werlen recognized as everyday regionalizations, which is to understand as continuous process of negotiation of these spaces through different subject's action (categories and types of actions were also

outlined by Werlen and discussed here). In the urban space, the constitution of everyday regionalizations and these negotiation processes will play a definitive role on shaping the urbanization process under globalization and neoliberal capitalism in different parts of the world, which is characterized by two dialectical and complementary faces as will be presented in the following chapter.

One can, consequently, conclude that the ideas and reflections of both theories supports immensely the analysis proposed by this research. If on the one hand, the urban space is to be understood as a continuous production process through three different dimensions of space, the social actors, on the other hand, through their more diverse actions, shape this process and the spatial dimensions constituting the everyday regionalizations. This is exactly the main comprehension of how the theory is attached to the empirical research throughout this work. I start from the assumption that urban social movements shape the urbanization process—as an important social actor—through their actions, simultaneously as a product and producer of this process and constituting different everyday regionalizations in a variable range of space and time. Let us now discuss the idea of the urbanization process before going further into this point.

2. From *neoliberal cities* to the *right to the city*: facets of the urbanization process in times of globalization.

As previously discussed, the urbanization process is the social phenomenon that permeates and encompasses the central research problem of the present work. Urbanization is understood here according to the Friedmann (2002) proposal that points out three different meanings for the idea of this process. The demographic, the economic and the socio-cultural senses, which are interconnected and related to one another as in a tridimensional dialectic assumption.

The demographic adoption of the idea of urbanization is probably the most widespread, and to which therefore more common sense impressions are considered. This term refers to the growth of the concentration of people in typical urban settlements at higher density rates than in the areas surrounding them. The expectation for a complete human demographic shift is eventually the complete statistical urbanization of the world. Lefebvre in *La révolution urbaine* (1970) warned and propagated his thesis of the complete urbanization of society. This demographic urbanization is directly linked to an increase in the complexity of social life, in the sense that the traditional split of city and countryside tends to be eliminated. Gregory et al. (2009, p. 792) claim that as society becomes more urbanized, the city disappears as the distinct object of inquiry and practice, and urban society overall becomes the object of scientific inquiry and political action. In summary, these reflections give rise to the considerations of today's role of the city in an urbanized world. Although the contrast between city and countryside is almost rarefied and the city no longer has its own mode of production or a distinctive way of life, and therefore no social particularity, it does not lose its specific function of centrality;—on the contrary, it becomes a center of economic control and decisions. Under these conditions, Schmid (2005, p. 187) claims that the historical-dialectical role of centrality means that the power of decision over a global production process is controlled in certain privileged places of the world. With this comprehension, Lefebvre has strikingly outlined the central considerations of the "World City" and the "Global City". However, Lefebvre claims that this term can only be used with reservations because it extrapolates the concept and the classical image of the city on a global scale—as a political-administrative center, as the center of protection and exploitation of a vast land area. The urban society will only be able to develop on the ruins of the classical city, and therefore, the term "city" for Lefebvre remains an ideological concept.

The second notion about the idea of urbanization refers to the economic dimension. Friedmann mentions, in this case, the "economic activities that we normally associate with cities" (Friedmann 2002, p.4). This understanding would traditionally exclude rural activities such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, or mining. However, Friedmann reminds

that many of these activities are nowadays directly related to urban forms of capitalization and organization, thus, absorbed by the urbanization process as well as the industrial, commerce, service and communication activities. This point of view was shared by Lefebvre, who claims that "the *urban fabric* grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life. This expression, "urban factory," does not narrowly define the built world of cities but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country. In this sense, a vacation home, a highway or a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric" (Lefebvre 2003, p. 3-4). This point is also central to Lefebvre's analysis of the basis of the urbanization process, namely, industrialization. Lefebvre came to the notable realization that the industrialization of society always means urbanization, in a twofold sense; on the one hand, it means as Engels has already recognized[42], the internal dynamics of industrialization lead to a concentration of labor and means of production, thus, to the formation of urban agglomerations. On the other hand, the industrialization of society also entails the global expansion of the urban infrastructure (buildings, traffic routes, energy, supply facilities, etc.). David Harvey (1982) addressed this process under the term *production of the built environment*. He additionally points out that investing in the built environment fundamentally changes the space-time configurations of the world, which for him means that the space-time barrier of the production process is losing importance and the globe is "shrinking." Harvey (1989) calls this process "space-time compression". At the same time, greater amounts of capital are continually tied up in the built environment, which in turn drives the urbanization process. Harvey (1985) put this connection on the term "urbanization of capital", which according to Schmid (2005) can be understood as a recast of Lefebvre's thesis of the complete urbanization of society. This relation is key to understand the evolution and constitution of the neoliberal city since the urbanization of capital drives this phenomenon. Therefore, in the next section, it will be approached in more detail.

Friedmann (2002) points out that the third meaning of the urbanization process is socio-cultural and refers to the appropriation of urban ways of life. In other words, this implies the embrace by populations of the urbanity as a lifestyle. This aspect has also been approached by Harvey (2012a), for whom the "urbanization of capital" presupposes not only the capacity of capitalist forces to dominate the urbanization process by means of economic activities, but also to engage socio-cultural domination over lifestyles, and political and social values of the urban population. It is important to mention that socio-cultural urbanization is a dimension—that as well as the economic—is no longer exclusively attached to the city as an object, as a built environment. In this

[42] Lefebvre's concerns on this regard began with *The condition of the Working Class in England* by Friedrich Engels. A highly appreciated text which is often used in urban research even today. In this text, in which Engels describes and analyzes the industrial revolution in England, the cities gained a prominent position. Engels pays special attention to the famous "model case" Manchester. (Schmid 2005, p.123).

context, the "crisis of the city"[43] can be defined more precisely. Schmid (2005, p. 154-155) emphasizes that for Lefebvre this represents the transition from industrial to an urban society. Accordingly, the phenomena and processes that determine everyday life and the production process are to be analyzed regarding the urban society. "In an urbanized world, there is no city and no land, only different urban configurations"[44] (Schmid 2005, p.155). The main critique on Lefebvre's *La révolution urbaine* refers exactly to the notion of the city itself, and due to his profound analysis of the urban phenomena, he had accomplished a radical shift in his perspective. From the analysis of a form (the city) to a process (the urbanization process). Considering the socio-cultural sense of this process, the urban is a place of encounter, communication, and information. Likewise, it is also where restrictions and rules are dissolved and joined by the elements of the playful, lively, random, and unpredictable. "The urban is defined as the place where people walk around, find themselves standing before and inside piles of objects, experiencing the intertwining of the threads of their activities until they become unrecognizable, entangle situations in such a way that they engender unexpected circumstances" (Lefebvre 2003, p. 39).

It is, therefore, possible to conclude that the three meanings of the urbanization process pointed out by Friedmann (2002) are dialectically interconnected in a three-dimensional way. In the global capitalist world of late modern society, the tendency is to consider the economic dimension as the driving force of the urbanization process and consequently of the other meanings of this process. However, this is not entirely true, since both demographic and socio-cultural senses can both boost or inhibit diverse economic unfoldings. The total capitalist and economic control in the process of urbanization on the state apparatus and on people's lives is practically impossible, as Harvey (2012a) warned. This is because the very "urban" aspect generated by this process of economic bias, becomes, dialectically, a sphere of political and social action, and, therefore, of class struggle. The urban is the sphere of difference. "Differences are points of active connection and should be clearly distinguished from particularities that remain isolated from one another" (Schmid 2012, p. 48). The same author also emphasizes that the characteristic quality of urban space arises from the simultaneous presence of distinct and particular worlds and systems of values, as well as from different cultural, social, ethnic, and varied types of activities and knowledge. The urban sphere creates the possibility of uniting these different elements and making them productive. However, they have, at the same time, a constant tendency to separate themselves from one another. Thus, the decisive question for the late modern urban life is how these differences are experienced and lived in everyday life.

---

43 Compare e.g. Jacobs, 1961; Schmid, 2005, or the polemical critiques of urbanism published in *Internationale Situationiste.*

44 „In einer urbanisierten Welt gibt es keine Stadt mehr und kein Land, sonder nur noch unterschiedliche urbane Konfigurationen" (Schmid 2005, S. 155)

Howsoever, urbanity (or urban life) is in the twenty-first century considered as something desirable, although it is not always clear as to—what exactly is desired. When in doubt, it is an exciting life, which is full of options and experienced in the present moment. In this way, distinct desires and aspirations for open and public life are representative in the opposition to the increasing endeavor of the economic power and its neoliberal capitalist practices on the process of urbanization that tends to the commodification and privatization of the city and, therefore, of the urban life. Thus, in approaching the urbanization process in contemporary times throughout this work, I consider it to be a process of two facets that are dialectically and mutually interrelated. These facets are on the one hand the neoliberal city, and on the other hand, the right to the city, where the latter is an alternative response/objection to the former. Hanno Rauterberg (2016, p. 10) brilliantly points out this bilateral relationship by remembering that the free, indefinite spaces of the city gain a different, weighty meaning. On the one hand, there is the "I" of digital modernity and neoliberal urbanism, which strives for self-fulfillment and for which the urban fabric is experienced as particularly suitable. On the other hand, there is a collective self, a "We," which demands urban spaces and firstly and foremost is shaped and founded on the streets, squares, and variable public spaces;—this is exactly the main focus of this research. In the 'urban', the future is still open; it offers space for anger, protest, and political will. The urban sphere becomes a laboratory for those who no longer believe in great utopias but for those who are willing to change the present for the better. Whether lack of housing, public spaces, green areas, culture, and leisure activities, traffic problems, security or collective memory, numerous social concerns can be turned around in the name of the urbanization process. The urban sphere is considered the right place for reasoning about everything that matters for a dignified life. Therefore, Rauterberg (2016, p. 13) believes that the urban sphere becomes the focal point of an aspired breakup.

Although the right to the city and the specific strategies for its realization are the main objective of this research, the facet of neoliberal urban development will not be neglected. After all, the right to the city arises, both in the academic dimension of Lefebvre's Paris of the late 1960's, and in the shouting in the streets of various cities around the world since the beginning of the twenty-first century, as an alternative and dialectical response to neoliberal urbanization, which will be addressed in the following sub-section.

2.1. The neoliberal city: origin and historical approach

Along the development of capitalism, urbanization has played a fundamental role—as the military expenses also had—at the absorption of surpluses produced by capitalists in their perpetual search for profits. The case of the Second Empire Paris after one of the first economic crisis through whole Europe, which affected not only the idle surplus capital but also the increase of unemployment rates, could be considered as a symbolic starting point of this process. This crisis affected Paris especially hard so that after a failed revolution of unemployed workers and the utopian bourgeois that was violently repressed by the republicans, the crisis was still unsolved. As a result, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte reached power through a political coup engineered by himself, and to survive politically he ordered strong repression to all alternative political movements that were dissatisfied with the economic situation of the time. Bonaparte's chosen path to face the economic crisis was one of the colossal infrastructural investment projects like, for example, the construction of railroads throughout Europe and into the Orient, as well as the consolidation of the national railway network, building ports and harbors, which entail the reconfiguration of the urban infrastructure of Paris. For such a project, Bonaparte appointed Georges-Eugène Haussmann to take charge of city's public works in 1853.

Haussmann's task was to solve the problem of absorption of capital surpluses through urbanization. Paris's urban reform absorbed a huge amount of produced capital gains, as well as large quantities of labor—which associated with the repression against the revolutionary aspirations of the worker's class—ensured a period of social stability. Haussmann's architectonical and urbanistic plan to recast Paris was created to facilitate military action and provide flowing and fast circulation. With this plan, he started to rethink the entire urban process through a new scale. This project was based on *refunctionalization* and revitalization of expensive central areas, through the destruction of the old medieval site, its narrow streets, alleys, and houses with poor and insalubrious sanitary facilities that gave space to the now famous Parisian Boulevards with around 120 meters width, promenades, public squares and parks. All these urban facilities were turned to the use of the privileged upper classes, and therefore, they drove the less privileged residents out to the suburbs, which were annexed by Haussmann's urban reform. To undertake this huge project, Haussmann employed new financial institutions and debt instruments, such as the Crédit Mobilier and Crédit Immobilier. In the words of Harvey (2008, p. 26), "he helped resolve the capital-surplus disposal problem by setting up a proto-Keynesian system of debt-financed infrastructural urban improvements."

An additional important aspect of this historical process is the fact that this project did not only mean a transformation of the urban infrastructure in Paris, but also the construction of a new urban and personal lifestyle, loaded with symbols, as the

recognition of Paris as the "City of Light." Such symbolization carried within itself the worship to consumerism, instant pleasure, and leisure, flânerie, as also the development of tourism, the Parisian cafés, department stores, and fashion industry, in a way that all this urban lifestyle change could absorb immense capital surpluses through consumerism. This system worked well for nothing more than fifteen years. However, in 1868, the crack of the financial system and credit structures, which were very overextended and speculative, contributed largely to the windup that led to the Paris Commune; the Paris Commune was one of the greatest revolutionary episodes in capitalist urban history, forged, among others, with the desire to take back the city on the part of those dispossessed by the works of Haussmann.

Almost a century later, in the 1940's in the United States, the Second World War scenario ensured only temporally the problem of absorption of capital surpluses and high unemployment rates, which during the 1930's seemed to be endless unsolvable problems. However, there was a dreadful doubt concerning how the capital surpluses would be applied after the end of the war. In 1942, Robert Moses, New York's most famous city planner, published an article in the *Architectural Forum* journal, which was a long and detailed evaluation of the effort of Haussmann's work in Paris. Moses had even chased to analyze Haussmann's mistakes, but his main intention was clearly to rebuild the reputation of the French urbanist. With the end of the Second World War, Moses was in charge, in alliance with the government and big corporate capital, to realize in New York and its metropolitan region, almost the same that Haussmann had done in Paris. That is, a complete restructuration of the urban system and a complete reorganization of urban life in the central and most valued area. Moses also changed the scale in which the city was thought through his project by building a complex system of highways and the production of suburbs. As it happened with Haussmann's Paris in the nineteenth century, the urban restructuration engaged by Moses lead to a change in the urban lifestyle of its inhabitants, characterized by consumerism marked by symbols such as "I love NY." Once again, the capital was—temporally—solving its particular problem of the disposal of capital gains through the reshaping of urban processes, and once again, it lasted only until the system met another crisis with the crash of the credit system and financial institutions.

This tendency of the urbanization process under the necessity of absorption of capital surpluses was not only going on in that time in New York but also in Chicago, Los Angeles and it had slowly disseminated through the whole of North America. In effect, the urbanization process turned into one of the most important ways of absorption of capital gains after the end of World War II in many parts of the world. This was done through a complete restructuring of the urban system and a full reorganization of urban life around the production of suburbs with all kinds of social consequences. These consequences are exactly the primary reason for the growing

presence of the groups and social movements that are engaged with the struggles concerning the problems of urban life, consequently, the fight for the right to the city.

With the growing and spreading tendencies of the globalization of the economy after the 1970's crisis, the urbanization processes—that were characteristic in the United States since decades before—also spread to peripheral areas of global capitalism, such as Latin America, Southeast Asia, but still more intensively in China. In the twentieth century, the pace of economic change was so great as never before, especially after World War II. Thus, the capital refeed its natural mechanism of absorption and reinvestment of surpluses through the process of urbanization to guarantee the global development of capitalism. In the present days, however, this mechanism is made overseas, where capitalists could find a wider new consumer market and cheaper workforces so that they could maximize their gains. Through this dynamic of the late modern urbanization process at an accelerated pace in Latin America, for example, we notice the increase of phenomena such as the incomplete and unequal urbanization. This process was vastly researched by the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos[45], who dedicated a great part of his academic path to denounce the perversity of these processes in megacities like São Paulo and Mexico City.

The case of China, however, with its enormous consumer market and abundant workforce brings us to the contemporary times. China is facing an astonishing urban process since the last forty years so that it could be considered as the country in the world where the capital found the most "fertile soil" to absorb and reinvest its gains through urbanization after the 1970's crisis until present times. The numbers of Chinese urbanization are impressive, characterizing a massive and fast urban development. According to the Sixth National Population Census of the People's Republic of China[46], there are eight urban agglomerations in the country nowadays, which each of them has more than ten million inhabitants and around 144 cities with a total population of more than one million people in each of them. Most impressive is the case of Shenzhen, the "Instant-City," a once unremarkable Chinese settlement at the end of the 1970's with no more than 30,000 inhabitants that became the mega city with a population of about ten million people[47] in China's Guangdong Province, situated immediately to the north of Hong Kong. Owing to China's economic liberalization, the area became China's first—and arguably most successful—special economic zone (SEZ). This instant and late urbanization process demanded a large amount of natural resources and is causing, therefore, a remarkable environmental, economic, and social impact. It is also startling, for example, that nowadays China is responsible for 51.4%[48] of worldly cement

45 Compare e.g. Santos, Milton (2010)

46 "Communiqué of the National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China on Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census". National Bureau of Statistics of China.

47 Shenzhen Government Online - http://english.sz.gov.cn/gi/ Accessed April 20, 2018

48 CEMBUREAU - World Cement Production 2015, https://cembureau.eu/cement-101/key-facts-figures/ Accessed April 20, 2018

production, which is absorbed mainly by its internal building sector on the construction of its cities.

Finally, within this historical rescue, I would like to mention the organization and implementation of the so-called "Mega-Events" such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup as a "propeller motor" of contemporary urban transformation processes under neoliberal policies. Forged under the speech of "modernization", "development", and "capital attraction", governments of newly industrialized countries embraced the organization of five major mega-events on the last ten years (Rio de Janeiro Pan-American Games 2007, Beijing Olympics 2008, South Africa World Cup 2010, Brazil World Cup 2014 and Rio de Janeiro Olympics 2016). These mega-events are "offered" by its organizers (FIFA for the Football World Cup and COI for the Olympic Games) as "the greatest" opportunity for economic growth and development for its host countries and cities. The organizers, however, do not bear the immense costs that such events demand for implementation, which were mainly covered by the local governments or capitalists and real estate companies that sooner or later will charge the bill to the governments for their financial "support." What is noticed once again in this case is a massive investment of capital into processes of urbanization, which demands for the realization of these mega-events a complete infra-structural (re)construction of the cities (new stadiums and other sport arenas; new roads, streets, and railways; expansion and modernization of transport systems—subway, trams, and buses; new airports and ports; etc.). Many of these construction works have striking social consequences since they are planned to attend the exclusive demands of the events and of its main target public, mainly tourists, rather the demands of local inhabitants. After a certain time of euphoria, namely, the euphoria of the middle classes that believed they would benefit by the promises of modernization and economic development, a state of crisis and total dissatisfaction took over the social, political, and economic scenarios after the realization of the events. In the cases of Brazil and South Africa, for example, these processes of urbanization under neoliberal economic policies were followed by economic recession, discontent, abandonment, idleness, and obsolescence of the facilities built with public money.

Worthwhile to mention is the case of Rio de Janeiro, the second largest Brazilian city, with around 6.5 million inhabitants[49], which hosted three mega events since 2007: Pan American Games 2007, FIFA World Cup 2014—including the final game—and the Olympic Games 2016. Needless to say, these events had an immense impact on the city's urban development that was already marked by social-economic segregation and inequalities. Rio de Janeiro witnessed under a rapid pace the construction and renovation of huge modern sport and culture facilities, airports, ports, bus and train stations, roads,

[49] IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - Sinopse do censo demográfico: 2010 / IBGE. https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/rj/rio-de-janeiro

streets, parking lots, bridges and tunnels of all kinds, as well as bus rapid transit and light rail transit systems. This urban reform demanded immense investment mostly paid for by the public sector financed by credit institutions and by private-public partnerships between government and companies, (mainly real-estate companies, that in Brazil are widely known as the main political campaign funding sources). If all these aspects were not enough, the conception of these infrastructural reforms was focused on city sites of the middle/upper classes, or where the mega-events took place. Such procedures generated an even greater segregation process in Rio de Janeiro. The case of "Vila Autódromo," for example, a small non-violent favela with a strong sense of community located right next to the Olympic Park in a western part of the city gained visibility because of the resistance of the community against forced evictions that were planned to give place to the constructions of roads, parking lots, and other facilities of the Olympic Park[50] as well as clearing space for luxury condominiums. Inhabitants had some of their basic human rights taken, such as the right to a dignified home. Either they were forced to relocate to the far suburbs, where they found poorer infrastructure, especially regarding urban mobility, or they received unfair amends. This community showed resistance to leave their homes, and they were therefore treated with violent repression from the Rio de Janeiro police forces.[51] These are sad events that in part sustained the cause to gain visibility through national and international media.

In the history of urban development, real estate capital and credit institutions have been playing a commanding role in the use and occupation of the urban ground for their own sake. With the organization of the mega-events, this dynamic became even stronger. This was exactly what happened in the case of Vila Autódromo since the community was not directly located where the Olympia Park was primarily planned. What happened, in fact, is that the city court signed a concession of public ground and established a public-private partnership for the construction of the Olympia Park. The concession states that, after the Games, 75% of the area of 1.18 million square meters would be allocated to a high-standard gated community project to be explored by the real estate company of the public-private partnership. Thus, the eviction of a poor community had been placed as a priority by the government of the city of Rio de Janeiro to make feasible yet another project of commercialization of the city, which is the most striking feature of neoliberal urbanization and generates problems and situations such as those of the local inhabitants of the Vila Autódromo. These characteristics have been transforming urban life in the contemporary city increasingly into an unequal, segregating, and inhumane experience. However, before going deeper into the discussion on the

---

[50] Griffin, Jo. Change beckons for Vila Autódromo, the favela that got in the Rio Olympics' way. In: The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/apr/26/rio-de-janeiro-favela-change-vila-autodromo-favela-olympics. Acessed: April 23th, 2018.

[51] Watts, Jonathan. Forced evictions in Rio favela for 2016 Olympics trigger violent clashes. In: The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/forced-evictions-vila-autodromo-rio-olympics-protests Acessed: April 23th, 2018.

problems of inequality generated by neoliberal urbanization, we must briefly immerse ourselves in the discussion about the functios of specific economic mechanisms of neoliberal capitalism in the process of urbanization to understand the ways in which capitalism shapes contemporary urban process.

2.2. The close relationship between capitalist development and the urbanization process

It is practically impossible to address the issues that arise from the relationship between the capital and the development of the urbanization processes without mentioning the vast contribution of the British geographer David Harvey. By extending Marxist political economy into new spheres of social reality, Harvey, with his seminal work *Social Justice and the City* (1973), proposed the important thesis that urbanism, the city, and all its related phenomena, were an aftermath to the processes of capital. Thus, Harvey claims that the capital structured not only the processes of the production of space, but also, the city and the political and cultural life associated with it. The author emphasizes that our focus never ought to leave the processes of the capital, since the capital is the dominant force that shapes modern social life, and therefore, urban life. Harvey continued to develop theses on the influence of capital on the configurations of social life throughout his academic career, having greatly contributed to the maturation of theories of economic/critical geography.

The interpretation of Harvey's work cannot be understood without considering his sensitivity to social problems. Another characteristic trait of his work that has remained since the 1970's, as previously mentioned, is the ambition of a research program that seeks to clarify the dynamics of capital, considered as the essential engine of the evolution of the contemporary world. Moreover, it is striking in Harvey's work, that he displays a will to build a useful science for the working class, for the poor, and the excluded. His geography does not commit to offering recipes to strengthen the position of dominant and hegemonic groups. Rather, its purpose is to facilitate the unification of the exploited groups and to create a revolutionary force capable of opposing the interests of the powerful, imposing another organization of social and economic relations.

In relation to the urban and urbanization processes, Harvey believes that the city is the scene where conflicts between landowners, capitalist entrepreneurs, and the worker's class is clearer and more pronounced. In *The Urbanization of Capital* (1985b), the transformation of cities and their role in the immobilization of capital in periods of overaccumulation is evidenced. Harvey, thus, underlines the role of the state in this type of policy as a consequence of Keynesianism after World War II. At the time of Haussmann's urban reform in Paris, the dynamics of the city were characterized by the conquest of the central areas of the city by the new bourgeoisie and the expulsion of the

workers to the peripheries. This type of practice, urban policy, has been repeated over the years and has been transmuted with different characteristics even today under an urban policy with a completely neoliberal character. In *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (1985a), Harvey analyzes the process from the perspective of representations and ideologies. As a result of the urbanization of capital, the Parisian working class became aware of its exploitation and developed a revolutionary action, the Paris Commune. After its repression, the Parisian bourgeoisie launched an operation of the ideological reconquest of the popular classes, and the construction of the Sacré-Cœur Basilica was the symbol of this operation. Thus, Harvey shows the intense and close connection between the economic dynamics of capitalism, the processes of urbanization, the ideological struggles and the construction of revolutionary consciousness. In other words, the urban process under capitalism is thus, on the one hand, about the contradictions and crises about the accumulation of capital, the built environment and its peculiarities, and, on the other hand, the contradictions and crises pertaining to class struggle, as it plays itself out in the context of an ever-changing built environment. According to Harvey (1985b, p. 1), these two dialectical kinds of contradictions are two different sides of the same coin.

With *The Limits to Capital* (1982), *The Urbanization of Capital* (1985b), and *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), Harvey increasingly denounces one of the most salient characteristics of the economic and social life of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century: the gradual shift in all nations of the global economy towards social and economic policies which has given increasing benevolence and centrality to the market, to the processes and logics of the market, and to the interests of capital, which consist of the main features of neoliberal policies. With a position that echoes orthodox Marxism—as the mechanics of the capitalist mode of production keeps central to all aspects of modernity—Harvey's argument is that we would be witnessing, through this process of centralization of the market forces, the deepening of the penetration of capitalism in social and political institutions as well as in the cultural awareness, which generates consequences for people's life. Neoliberalism, thus, becomes the intensification of the influence of capital. It can be considered as an "advance" of capitalism, taken as a mode of production, towards a set of compulsory politics and its own cultural logic, as well as a project to strengthen, restore, or, in some cases, constitute anew the power of economic elites. Neoliberalism is a top-down project, which can inadvertently reinforce its hegemonic status.

Michael Thompson (2005) argues that this analysis stems from Marx's insight about the nature of capital itself. "Capital is not simply money, property, or one economic variable among others. Rather, capital is the organizing principle of modern society. It should be recalled that in his *Grundrisse,* Marx explicitly argued that capital is a process that puts into motion all of the other dimensions of modern economic, political, social and cultural life" (Thompson 2005, p. 23). Neoliberalism, as Harvey (2005) claims,

creates the wage system, influences values, goals, and the ethics of individuals, transforms our relationship to nature, to ourselves and our community. Moreover, neoliberalism does not present itself as a new turn in the history of capitalism. It is simply its intensification and its resurgence after decades of opposition from the Keynesian welfare state and experiments with social democratic/welfare state politics.

Within cities, neoliberalization process found its forefront. Thinking about geographic processes through new scales after Fordism has emphasized the supra and subnational scales: the erosion of the nation-state and the increasing role of the cities as responsible spheres of the realization of international competitiveness. Helga Leitner et al. (2007) claim that "cities remain crucible for new ideas, are where most people live and work, and are characterized as the scale at which state policies and practices are particularly sensitive to democratic pressure and local agendas" (Leitner et al. 2007, p. 2). For these reasons, the successful implementation of neoliberal urban policies has been one of the crucial points of the neoliberalization of the global economy.

Another important aspect to be mentioned is that government technologies help construct the subjectivity that is inherent in the neoliberal project. Individual freedom is redefined in neoliberalism as the capacity for self-realization and freedom from bureaucracy rather than freedom of desires, in which human behavior has continued to be reconceptualized through economic interests. "Individuals are empowered to actively make self-interested choices and are made responsible for acting in this way to advance both their well-being and that of society. Employees are redefined as entrepreneurs with an obligation to work, to better themselves and society, rather than having a right to work. They are responsible for their own education and retraining, to build human capital, and for their own well-being and risk management by behaving prudently, instead of relying on the state" (Leitner et al. 2007, p. 4).

The reproduction of these policies, discourses, and subjectivities inherent in the neoliberal project gives rise to neoliberal urbanism. The neoliberal city is first and foremost characterized as a business corporation city, in which all its efforts will be directed to achieve the desired economic advances in the incessant competition with other cities of the global economy to attract investments, innovations, and "creative classes." (Leitner et al. 2007, p.4). In addition, the neoliberal city is marked by the progressive substitution of the municipal bureaucracies dedicated to social issues by professionalized "quasi-public agencies" (ibid.) which are empowered and responsible for promoting economic development. This generates intense privatization of basic services, which consequently causes decisions to be made progressively towards cost-benefit calculations instead of taking into account the purposes of service, equity, and social welfare. Ultimately, the neoliberal city, according to Leitner (ibid.) can be seen as the city in which its residents are expected to act responsibly, prudently, and in an entrepreneurial way. The social responsibility of municipal power is practically nil. The

inhabitants of the city become responsible for their successes and failures, as well as carrying with them the social obligation to contribute to the well-being and economic health of the city, as well as to the general economic well-being alongside their hard-working fellow citizens.

Margit Mayer (2007) also describes the neoliberal process and its urban consequences when it recalls that cities today are facing a more hostile and competitive global environment. Local governments start adopting a marketing-praxis shaping of cities, as well as business zones, tax reductions for companies, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local economic boosting, and at the same time, new strategies for social control and labor policies. Urban forms of governance become entrepreneurial with emphasis on economic efficiency and competition with other cities in times of globalized capitalism.

With regard to the neoliberal project working in the urbanization process, Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002) highlight a classification between three distinct phases, namely, the "protoneoliberalism", the "roll-back neoliberalism", and a phase of "roll-out neoliberalism." The initial phase of "protoneoliberalism", basically in the 1970's, is marked by cities, which became turning points for major economic dislocations and struggles, particularly in the sphere of social reproduction. In the 1980's we witnessed the era of "roll-back neoliberalism" when cities introduced a progressive cut of expenses in the areas of urban and social planning, cutbacks in public services, and the privatization of infrastructural facilities. Since the 1990's the efficacy of the "roll-out neoliberalism" is remarkable; it has responded to the contradictions of the earlier zero-sum kind of entrepreneurialism. Mayer's analysis in this respect (2007, p. 91) is that while the basic neoliberal imperative of mobilizing the city's space as an arena for growth and market rigor remains the dominant municipal project; "roll-out neoliberalism" established some digressive mechanisms and modes of crisis displacement such as local economic development policies and community programs to disguise and shift the centrality of social exclusion, as well as to introduce new forms of coordination between distinct spheres of municipal governance's local intervention. Mayer concludes that social, political, and ecological criteria have been appropriated as part of neoliberal efforts to promote economic competitiveness. "Social infrastructures, political culture, and ecological foundations of the city are being transformed into economic assets wherever possible." (ibid.).

However, how do neoliberal policies operate within urbanization processes and municipal governance? This section aims to understand how neoliberal urban policies work in a praxis-oriented way. Harvey (1985b, p. x) recalls that Marx argued that the conscious struggle to create an alternative to capitalism has to be based on thorough material understandings of how capitalism works and how it performs and naturally generates certain states of political and social consciousness. In order to change the

world, Harvey agrees with Marx when he affirms that we have to understand it (ibid.). The understanding of neoliberal policies in urban administration was compiled in an enlightening way by Tore Sager (2011), who with his work of survey of the existing literature in the field of urban planning policies, highlights the existence of four distinct spheres/fields concerning these policies, namely: 1) urban economic development; 2) infrastructure provision; 3) management of commercial areas and; 4) housing and neighbourhood renewal. It is important to point out that all these categories present an interwoven aspect with one another and were so elaborated and reproduced here to promote better understanding and clearer structuration to this work.

Urban economic development

The aim of such policies is to attract people and business companies to the city, "whilst taking into account that some segments of the population and some firms can contribute more to economic development than others" (Sager 2011, p. 156). The central aspect of these policies is based on the neoliberal belief in competition and its acceptance of the preferential treatment given to certain segments of society for the sake of economic growth.

One of these practices happens through *city marketing*, which according to G. J. Ashworth and H. Voogd (1990) has become a thriving sub-field in urban planning, geography and territorial management studies in recent decades. The main means used in city marketing are the flagship programs (such as the "Novo Recife" in Recife and the "HafenCity" in Hamburg)[52], mega-events, signature urban design or even the association with personalities. The promotion and marketing of cities are the means to acquire and attain competitive advantages in relation to other cities in the contemporary world of a globalized economy. The aim is to increase revenues through external investments and tourism, and this involves practices and concepts of the private business marketing sector in an organization that should not take a business position, as is the case of the municipal administration. City marketing diminishes the importance of the role of city residents as citizens and co-managers that are increasingly becoming mere consumers at the hand of these entrepreneurial logics applied to municipal governance.

Another strategy of providing urban economic development, which is also closely linked to city marketing, is through the attraction of the "creative class". Richard Florida (2005) developed the ideas on how cities can attract the creative class and thus facilitate the entrepreneurial ventures of its members. Florida argues that economically advanced societies have entered a phase of capitalism in which creativity is the core engine of economic growth. The creative class is given the responsibility for the emergence of new

[52] These flagship projects will be presented and debated in detail in the respective chapters of empirical discussion, since they can be considered as the propelling engines of the neoliberal project both in Recife and in Hamburg, and are therefore the object of frequent reaction and protest by urban social movements.

technologies, new industries and most of the economic benefits that flow from it. Sager (2011) states that about thirty percent of the workforce comprises the creative class, including groups ranging from artists to high-tech workers and managers. This notion of the creative class, however, is much more linked to an idea of the conceived space from Lefebvre's production of space and is the opposite of the creativity employed by social movements that is used as a dialectical strategy of resistance and contestation to the problems generated by urban neoliberal policies, as also showed within the empirical examples of this work.

Finally, in order to pursue urban economic development, many municipal administrations are launching the strategy of granting expensive and costly economic incentives to companies and firms, so they can settle headquarters in their territories. These incentives are granted even where there is a budget deficit or a considerable demand for public and social services, covered under the promise of job creation, "modernity", and "economic development". Moreover, these incentives, such as sales tax exemption, income tax relief, property tax abatement, or a rent-free period, are mostly combined with special "business-friendly" appeals, such as free lands or buildings, relief to lower costs of development through land assembly, and infrastructure provision (roads, paved parking lots, or installed traffic signals) (Bartik 2005; Sager 2011).

Infrastructure provision

Infrastructure provision are policies that are oriented to ensure that the private sector becomes involved in the construction and operation of urban infrastructure. The idea behind these neoliberal strategies is to "draw on private entrepreneurial skills and get access to private investment capital which disconnects the progression of the projects from government budgetary routines and ensures heavy weight on efficiency" (Sager 2011, p. 163). The basis of these policies is the false and illusory conviction (or manipulation) of the superiority of the private sector in organizing economic joint ventures for the realization of the urban infrastructure operation.

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are the classic example of the denial of the municipal public power to bear its responsibilities in the operation of urban infrastructure, relocating it to the private sector. There are many forms of PPPs, and a useful working definition according to Sager (2011, p. 163) is that PPPs are joint working relationships where both parties are otherwise independent bodies and agree to cooperate to achieve a common goal. Additionally, the parts create new organizational structures or processes to achieve this goal and share relevant information, risks, and rewards. As mentioned before, neoliberal urban policies are, in one way or another, interwoven. PPPs are related to other neoliberal urban policies that give the private sector more influence, such as urban flagship projects (as the cases of "Novo Recife" and "HafenCity"). Jurian Edelenbos and Geert Teisman (2008, p. 616) distinguish between two different models

of PPPs: the alliance model and the concession model. The alliance is characterized by cooperation and intense involvement on the part of the government throughout the project. Differently, the concession is a work order, and in this case, the government sells the long-term exploitation rights for a lump sum.

Given the fact that efficient transport is a crucial component of urban competitiveness, a large number of PPPs is agreed regarding the organization, administration, and construction of transport infrastructure. Public-private partnerships construct roads, airports, railways, and seaports and leave to the private-sector the right to explore it economically. The residents and visitors of the city need to bear costs that are often much higher than they were before the PPPs, however, without having the guarantee of paying for quality service or even having the freedom to choose among other offers for the same service. In some privatization or PPPs systems for urban infrastructure, the city can even lose control over the pace and direction of development, which in most cases results in high social or even environmental costs.

Management of commercial areas

This section refers to the urban policies that assure the profitability of private companies willing to invest in realty and commercial activity in the city. The neoliberal aspect that reflects in these policies is that the private has priority above the public and that the success of private companies is more important than the realization of public plans. These practices are basically carried out in two ways. The creation of *business-friendly zones and flexible zoning* and through the *privatization of public space.*

Sager (2011, p. 170) claims that zoning is a set of development controls separating land uses to prevent negative external effects associated with the proximity of incompatible activities. Several types of zones fit the neoliberal ideology, and the flexible zoning gives more room for urban regeneration driven by the private sector. Inner city zones can be made business-friendly by offering economic incentives to invest there. A remarkable example are the *business improvement districts (BIDs)*, which are zones for tax increment financing. BIDs aim to make city centres competitive, and they are completely associated with neoliberal ideas, "as they ensure business-led innovation at the local level and reduce local government involvement in the provision of services" (Sager 2011, p. 171). Furthermore, these improvement districts entail private management of public space. Thus, it is possible to affirm that BIDs can limit the democratic nature of public space and suppress the varied unfolding of human interaction.

The *privatization of public space* and the public sphere, also according to the empirical findings of this research, is the most emblematic form of neoliberal urban policy and the one that most directly affects people's lives. It is directly intertwined with other urban policies such as BIDs, PPPs, city marketing, and the housing and neighborhood renewal. It is, in a general way, the greatest obstacle to the struggle for the right to the city and,

therefore, one of the most mentioned aspects by urban social movements in Recife and Hamburg that aspire processes of urbanization that provide the cities with an egalitarian, humane, and unsegregated character. Neoliberals advocate, as we could constantly show until now, private market "solutions" for most of the urban problems. The public realm––understood as the public interest, public services, collective identity, and most important, the public space—has been, according to John Clarke (2004), subjected to constant processes of dissolution for the sake of the "economic growth." Sager (2011, p. 172-173) alerts that public space is increasingly privatized in many countries on the last thirty years, even if some of its function might remain public despite private ownership. "City managers make compromises; they may be willing to give private business control over formerly public space in exchange for a productive economic return" (Turner 2002 as cited in Sager 2001, p. 173).

Neoliberal practices affect urbanization processes through the before mentioned ways of privatization of the public space. It is thus the *conceived space* of Lefebvre's process of production of space in its pure form overruling all other spatial dimensions through purposive action, which in turn constitutes, according to Werlen, the *productive-consumptive* everyday regionalizations. The public space ceases to be a public good for the use of city inhabitants. In losing its public character, urban space starts becoming segregated and discriminative. It loses, significantly, its aspect of a *lived space.* Some of these spaces, which are now privatized but maintain their public functions, are nothing more than simulacra of public spaces. For, after privatization, control, monitoring, discrimination, and surveillance become routine practices of the owners of those spaces that were previously public, so that they can achieve their economic goals. This situation has constantly been observed in empirical research, both in Recife and in Hamburg, as will be discussed in more detail in the appropriate following chapters. The standard example of simulacra public space/quasi-public space is the shopping mall. These malls are often "fortified cells of inducement that filter the middle classes away from unnecessary social influences and interruptions to the intensity of their spending." (Sager 2011, p. 173). Shopping malls were created in the U.S.A. to meet a demand for commerce and services from those who lived outside urban centers. In countries such as Brazil, however, these simulacra of public spaces are installed inside the urban perimeter, as if it were generating an autophagic process. This process is autophagic because, at the same time as it provides deficiency in real public spaces of solidarity and mutual coexistence among city inhabitants, the shopping mall is presented as a solution for this lack of public space generated, in parts, by itself. However, it is necessary to emphasize once again—as it was also highlighted by social movements, especially in Recife—that shopping malls are not public spaces; they are fake public spaces. These spaces are private, and access to them is only guaranteed to those who hold the power of consumption. Herein, citizens are becoming even more empty consumers.

Housing and neighborhood renewal

The last field of neoliberal urban policies refers to housing issues. The right to decent housing should be an irrevocable obligation of the State, therefore, of the municipal administration. What has been witnessed, however, is an increasing advance of the role of the private market in these housing affairs. As a consequence, "the preferences of affluent people for secure and high-quality homes near the shopping and entertainment districts of the city replace welfare states' emphasis on affordability and public housing for those in need." (Sager 2011, p. 174). The allowance to the private market in the provision of housing is given mainly in two different ways that characterize the *liberalization of housing markets*. Namely, the privately governed and secured neighborhoods (*gated communities*) and the *gentrification*. Both ways, however, express the founding of housing markets and the transition to private ownership of the previously public housing stock.

Gated communities are described by Sonia Roitman et al. (2010, p.5), as "closed urban residential schemes voluntarily lived in by a homogeneous social group where public space has been privatized, restricting access through the implementation of security devices." Gated communities can also be considered as a case of privatization of the public space, since they represent an increasingly strong trend towards the private management of public urban areas. In addition, many of these gated communities, through their partnerships with municipal public authority—besides obtaining the concession for the construction in lands that were once public—in many cases, do not even bear the costs to the realization of basic infrastructures construction works, such as street paving, water, and electricity. Teresa Caldeira (2003) developed an important work in this field, in which she researched the urban dynamics on the city of Sao Paulo and concluded that this is now a "city of walls." The author uses a specific term to refer to the gated communities that brick up and segregate urban public life: the *fortified enclaves*. For Caldeira, the goal of these enclaves "is to segregate and change the character of public life by transferring activities that were previously carried out in heterogeneous public spaces into private spaces that have been constructed as socially homogeneous environments, and destroying the potential of the streets to provide spaces for anonymous and tolerant interactions"[53] (Caldeira 2003, p. 313).

As the privatization of public space, gentrification is a neoliberal policy that connects closely with other urban policies. The liberalization of housing markets, for example, has increased in many countries the possibilities of gentrification (Sager 2011). Gated communities could also improve the profitability of gentrification projects by organizing the modernized area as a fortified enclave. In general, gentrification is understood as a

[53] "[…] o objetivo é segregar e mudar o caráter da vida pública, transferindo atividades antes realizadas em espaços públicos heterogêneos para espaços privados que foram construídos como ambientes socialmente homogêneos, e destruindo o potencial das ruas de fornecer espaços para interações anônimas e tolerantes." (Caldeira 2003, p. 313).

revitalization done on neighborhoods that encompasses a range of policies that differ over time and space and depend on the type of neighborhood.

It is possible to understand gentrification as a two-faced phenomenon. In other words, gentrification is engendered by two key processes that according to Rowland Atkinson are "the class-based colonization of cheaper residential neighborhoods and reinvestment in the physical housing stock" (2003, p. 2344). These processes of gentrification are thus often seen as processes reclaiming the city for middle classes. Gentrification can be basically summarized and explained as a process involving a change in the land users population, in which the new users have a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users, and therefore, this new population brings about an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital. Eric Clark (2005) further concludes that "the greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process, not least because the more powerful the new users are, the more marked will be the concomitant change in the built environment" (Clark 2005, p. 258).

It is therefore elementary to conclude that the adoption of neoliberal policies in urban management has generated and intensified the fragmentation and segregation of the production of the intra-urban space—as constantly mentioned in the speeches of social movements' representatives during the empirical research—as a result of this neoliberal urbanization process. Thus, the advance of the capitalist system through neoliberal practices and policies in the field of urban planning is characterized, mainly, by the following aspects: one-dimensional concentration in the efficiency and profitability of the market; predilection for the solutions of the private, competitive, and market-oriented field of urban problems; search for development strategies that allow the creation of lucrative investment opportunities for private companies; skepticism to long-term participatory processes that prepare for political commitments for the sake of economically viable decisions to the market sphere; lack of democratic agenda in respect to the widespread privatisation greed that reduces transparency and thus weakens the inhabitants in their capacity as well informed citizens; and, maybe the most important thing, as well pointed out by Sager (2011), the "indifference to concerns for unequal treatment, exclusion, segregation, and distributional questions: private goals of profitability are given higher priority than social goals of improving the living conditions of the economically deprived" (ibid. 180).

As can be concluded and it will still be confirmed with the discussion of empirical results, neoliberal urban policies bring innumerable negative consequences regarding the fragmentation and segregation of intra-urban space. However, it is possible to affirm that these disruptions are even more intensified when approached from a global perspective. Therefore, it was substantial that the empirical research took place in two unlikely and complex urban environments. Given the fact that contemporary economic

relations are being increasingly global, it is evident how much the global specificity of neoliberal policies and the process of globalization have an impact on urbanization processes. Multinational companies of the civil engineering and building sectors buy and acquire urban public lands and begin to privately manage housing projects and the construction of urban infrastructure, generating all those policies previously presented, such as gentrification, gated communities, flagships projects, city marketing and privatization of the public space. At the beginning of the 1970's, Milton Santos (2010 [1971]) denounced the fragmenting tendency of the globalization process through the development of capitalism and neoliberal policies on the urbanization process, leading to the identification of the phenomenon that he called "unequal urbanization." For this reason, the next section discusses and seeks to understand the role of globalization processes on urbanization and urban development in the world from a dialectical perspective between the academic production of the global south and global north.

2.3. The role of globalization

Globalization is, to a certain extent, the apex of the process of internationalization of the capitalist world, that is, of the most perverse transformation of this economic system through the means of neoliberalism. Globalization and capitalism today are thus so closely linked that it is even more appropriate to speak not only of a relationship between them but rather as the process of globalization as an integral and indissoluble part of the capitalist system. Given the direct association between the city, or rather, the processes of urbanization and the development of the capitalist system until its culmination with neoliberalism—which was already presented—it is then elementary to conclude that globalization processes are also central and play a preponderant role in a context of so-called planetary urbanization and global urbanism. In this way, it is important to understand the mechanisms of the process of globalization and to reveal the city-capitalism nexus and its intricacies of social and economic life within late capitalist societies, where the economic, the social, the cultural, and the political become closely intertwined realms.

Ugo Rossi (2017) points out that the "advent of globalization has reasserted the centrality of cities, with their growing involvement in capitalism as the dominant mode of production and economic development strategy in the contemporary world" (ibid. 52). Rossi also emphasizes that cities were important both in early stages of primordial capitalism, preceding the formation of the modern nation-state and the Industrial Revolution, and later when weakening nation-states had negotiated their positionality in the context of the increasingly complex governance arrangements within the contemporary world economy. This is one of the reasons why the understanding of the city-capitalism nexus cannot be separated from the analysis of the process of

globalization, taken as a pervasive force "exerting influence over potentially any aspect of socio-economic life" (ibid. 5). Since its appearance within public and scholarly debates, the idea of globalization has thus been intimately associated with the urban phenomenon and has substantially revitalized the field of urban studies from the early 1990's onwards. The development of the theories on the world-city (Friedmann 1986) and the global-city (Sassen 1991) is the most prominent aspect of this.

The strong and close relationship or even association between the urban process, capitalism, and globalization is consistently reinforced by Rossi (2017) for whom this web of relations is capable of reshaping the human experience as a whole in contemporary times. Thus, the interconnectedness of globalization, capitalism, and urbanization processes is illustrative not just of the expansion of urbanization in the contemporary world, as the planetary urbanization puts it, but also of the economic valorization of cities and their societies. The condition of the globalization of the urban experience in times of global capitalism and neoliberalism leads to a moment in which the demographic growth of cities in different parts of the world transforms human beings into an 'urban species'. Therefore, a more global approach to urban studies is gaining ground in the field of human geography and urban sociology. This approach, however, needs to be aware of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system and neoliberal practices. These contradictions and disparities are responsible for developing imbalances and fragmentations not only on the intra-urban scale but also at the inter-urban level, reflecting an extreme disparity between different regions of the globe in their processes of production of the urban space. In a practical sense, this fact reveals the need to go beyond the West-centric views that are sadly still predominant within existing urban scholarship, which must be contemplated as an invitation to look at the urban phenomenon from a truly global perspective, bearing in mind the web of relations between capitalism, urbanization, and globalization beyond the simplistic ideas of the 'global village' and the 'compression of time and distances'.

Despite mentioning the importance of the approach that goes beyond West-centric views, yet referring to the postcolonial perspectives, Rossi (2017) sometimes ends up limiting himself to the assumption of globalization as an "intensified circulation of ideas, information, knowledge, institutional practices and urban development" (ibid. 67). Based on the influence of Eugene McCann (2011), Rossi (2017) claims that globalization is giving rise to an increasingly unified urban experience at the planetary level, mainly due to the heightened mobility of urban development and regeneration policies. This assumption may even sound like an aggressive insult against people who face the bitterness of everyday urban life in the global south—as I witnessed, for example in suburban areas of Recife, for example—since their urban experience in times of globalized capitalism has no practical unity to their lives with the urban experience of the global north, and therefore could never be considered as a unified planetary urban experience. The author proceeds and calls attention to the fact that "cities located in

different regional settings across the globe have been transformed by either active or passive reception of policy catch-words and related operational frameworks imported from 'elsewhere'" (Rossi 2017, p. 67). However, it was neglected that these transformations always have a dual character that defines the fragmentation of the contemporary world, which are designed by the caprices of neoliberalism.

However, one cannot deny the assumption of globalization as a change in the geographical conditions of life or as a transformation of the spatial references of everyday life and thus as an expression of everyday practices of a great part of humanity. Globalization is part of the everyday life and action of subjects, which has different dimensions and involves specific forms of geography-making processes. This is one of the understandings of globalization proposed by Werlen (2007), who advances this discussion by bringing essential contributions with a social-geographic perspective centered in action as the starting point of the geography-making. Werlen is comprehensive in understanding globalization not only as a key concept of social and cultural sciences but also a buzzword in the media and politics. In general, Werlen (2014, p. 54) claims that this term refers to a stimulus that honors the power or machinations of transnational corporations, finance, and its crises or even terrorism, and the attempts to solve conflicts in all regions politically or militarily. The process of globalization has ushered into a new age of geographical living conditions. According to Werlen (2014, p. 54), this process is irreversible, and it shapes in many ways not only the central challenge of geographical science but also the political configuration of everyday life and sociability in our times. Following the theoretical tradition developed and endorsed by himself, Werlen (2007) reminds that we can shape the processes of globalization ourselves through our daily actions. It becomes clear that globalization is a result of the creation of spatial references, that is, a way that people refer to the world and thus a form of "geography making." Due to the lucidity and clairvoyance of the Werlenean theory with the focus on action, the dimension of the 'local' becomes vital for the understanding of the processes of globalization. Consequently, globalization is not simply about dissolving local references. Rather, it has to do with a dialectical relation of global and local references.

In this way, globalization is typical of late-modern living conditions, which is marked by these new kinds of relations between the local and the global. It is based on techniques and technologies that have only been extensively used along the 20th century. In accordance with Werlen (2007, 2014), globalization can thus be understood as a combination of the conditions and consequences of action over long distances, which takes place in economic, social, and cultural terms. In other words, globalization refers to the potential of an unprecedented spatial and temporal reach of social relationships and thus a profound change in living conditions, which is characteristic of late-modern societies. In addition, there is an awareness that earthly obstacles and distances in contemporary times are increasingly losing their importance. The main feature of

globalization is, therefore, that, in the context of local circumstances, human action is also simultaneously shaped by circumstances and actions that have their starting point in far-flung places. This fact is characteristic for the late-modern living conditions by what Harvey (1989) thought fit to call "time-space compression."

The compression of time and space is central on the studies of globalization and refers to the factuality that the reach of action and communication expands to such an extent that the world shrinks regarding the availability of information into a "global village." In this process, not only does the relationship to space change but so does the relationship to time. The apparent shrinkage of the world through developments in transport and communication technology must, therefore, according to Harvey, be understood as a spatial and temporal compression. It is undeniable that the spatiotemporal shrinking process is related to the technological aspects of globalization and illustrates the axiomatic relationship between space and time that affects the life of a great part of humanity today. Just as it is also undeniable the social and intellectual contribution proposed by Harvey almost thirty years ago, during the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. However, as social scientists and in view of all the paths that human society has been taking, with special attention to the unfolding processes of fragmentation and segregation of the urbanization of the world—which we are witnessing all over the world in our days—we must go beyond the reductionism of globalization as a shortening of time and distances and the growth of the 'global village.' A urgent appeal is made for the social sciences to an approach from a post-colonial perspective of the unfolding of the web of relations between capitalist development, globalization, and urbanization. Pablo Ciccolella (2010) reinforces this appeal when he claims that a great number of geographical reflections on this topic have stagnated around the discourse and the stories of globalization and the competitiveness of our cities. According to him, it is necessary to have a reflection from the south, which goes beyond the "straitjackets" of the academic production from the global north. The deepening on discussions concerning the new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation is thus urgent to demystify the fallacious political, mediatic, and scientific narrative that extends to the whole of our metropolis and the "successful" experience of some fragments of our cities.

The Brazilian geographer Milton Santos, honored in 1994 with the Vautrin Lud Prize—the highest award in the field of geography—presents the academic world of the social sciences in the year 2000—a year before his death—the masterpiece "*Por uma outra globalização: do pensamento único à consciência universal*"[54]. This work encompasses a critical

[54] This work was only in 2017 translated and released in English under the title "Toward an Other Globalization: From the Single Thought to Universal Conscience". In Germany the book is sold for the absurd price of 85,00€ (official website of the publisher) and to the date (15.05.2018), only four physical copies are available in German libraries, according to the Catalog of the Joint Library Network (GBV - http://gso.gbv.de). This fact can thus be understood as the perpetual Eurocentric / Western indifference and neglect of third-world academic production.

and universal view of globalization processes that is not fascinated and dazzled by the urban development produced by current global capitalism mainly in the cities of the global north, which is only fragmentary reproduced in the cities of the south. That is, a view that goes beyond the dominant perspective of the West, from which this process emerged, which is, unfortunately, lacking not only from the apologists of Western hegemony but also from most scholars writing against this hegemony from within the globalizing world.

Santos is an intellectual who throughout his career did not hide his intentions to denounce and explain the problems and pains of the world in which he lived. In his treatise on the process of globalization (2015 [2000]) he seeks to direct his writing to what he calls the "vast world," the ordinary people, the people most affected by globalization, which I also pursue to reproduce humbly within the present work. Undoubtedly, Milton Santos' work is also addressed to scholars and the academic world. However, Santos is convinced of the social role of the intellectuals and the ideology in the production and dissemination of knowledge, capable of strengthening the reproduction/maintenance or break/disruption of the current globalization patterns. Santos is therefore convinced that, given the knowledge and information that are currently available, it is either possible to continue "to make the planet a hell on Earth, as we are witnessing in Latin America, for example, or as it is also feasible to carry out its opposite. Hence, the relevance of politics, which is the art of thinking about changes and creating the conditions to make them effective" (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 14). Santos (idem) claims that the historical change of perspective will rise through a bottom-up movement. He then presents several dialectical relations that will make up this change and transformation, in which the main actors will be the underdeveloped countries and not the rich ones; the disinherited and poor, and not the opulent and other 'obese classes'; the liberated individual who is a part of the new masses and social movements and not the subjects that are chained to the rules of the capitalist system; the free thinking and not single discourse about the "world" (idem).

In general, Santos' assumption (2015 [2000]) is that current globalization is perverse, based on the tyranny of information and money, the competitiveness generated by neoliberal policies and structural violence. This set of features of the contemporary globalized world thus leads to the deflation of the state and the imposition of a policy commanded by corporations and private power, always aiming for its own profit and not the commonwealth. Despite being extremely pessimist along a great part of his argumentation, Santos recognizes the existence of a "transition in progress" highlighted by the less researched popular manifestations of the "bottom countries" from the cultural to political realms on the periphery of the capitalist system. Although these social actors are widely present and effective, they are still less studied, and that is why Santos believes—in opposition to many globalization theories—that the current globalization process is not something irreversible; rather, he believes that the universal history is just

beginning. Such impressions were also identified throughout my perceptions and constructions as I undertook the empirical research with the social actors belonging to the social movements, especially those of Recife, as I will still discuss in the appropriate chapter.

Besides presenting the factuality of the current process of globalization as a perversity, Santos (2015 [2000]) proposes an interesting methodological tool for the understanding of his theory through the dialectic of the globalization as a triad, namely; the fable, the perversity, and the possibility. This perspective responds to an attempt to contest the "single discourse" which is based on information and its empire, which find its support in the production of images and the imagery generated by capitalism, thus serving the empire of money. The empire of money is based on the economization and monetarization of all aspects of social and personal life, making us lose our citizen features, becoming thus mere consumers.

Santos claims so that if we wish to oppose the belief that this world presented to us is true, and that we do not want the maintenance of its misleading perception, we must consider the existence of three worlds in one; "the first would be the world as they make us see: the globalization as a fable; the second would be the world as it really is: the globalization as perversity; and the third, the world as it could be: another globalization"[55] (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 18).

Globalization as a fable

Thanks to the advances of science, a system of techniques commanded by the information techniques was produced at the end of the twentieth century. These techniques then begin to play a role as a link between other techniques, uniting them and assuring to the new technical system a planetary presence, characterizing what Santos calls the tyranny of information. However, it is necessary to clearly and critically analyze and conclude that globalization is not only the existence of this system of techniques but also the result of actions that ensure the emergence of a so-called "global" market, responsible for the essentials of the currently effective political processes. "The tyranny of information" provides the basis of the ideological system that legitimizes the most characteristic actions of our time, justifying the hegemonies that arise from neoliberal politics, which results in the creation of fables and fragmented, misleading perceptions of the world. These perceptions are, according to Santos, the basis of the new totalitarianisms, that is to say, of the "globalitarianisms" we are witnessing in contemporary times (2015 [2000], p. 38).

---

55 "O primeiro seria o mundo tal como nos fazem vê-lo: a globalização como fábula; o segundo seria o mundo tal como ele realmente é: a globalização como perversidade; e o terceiro, o mundo como ele pode ser: uma outra globalização" (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 18).

Under current conditions, information techniques are mainly controlled by only a small number of actors (large transnational corporations and conglomerates) depending on their particular objectives. With the appropriation of these information techniques, the creation of inequalities is deepened. The periphery of the capitalist system is becoming more and more peripheral, either because it has no access to the means of production at its disposal or because they have no possibility of control. What is informed to a great part of humanity today is, thus, manipulated information, information that presents itself as an ideology, and which, according to Santos, seeks to "convince" us to follow the patterns of consumption of current capitalism. This characteristic of the information that seeks to convince towards consumption is because advertising has become something that anticipates the production. Fighting for survival and hegemony, as a function of competitiveness, companies cannot exist without advertising, which has become the central nerve of the engine of capitalism and commercial relations. From this amalgam of relationships over the tyrannical character of information in the current globalized world, there arises the production of fables and myths that are at the service of the hegemonic system.

One such scenario is the repeated idea of the "global village." This fable refers to the fact that communication would have become possible on the scale of the entire planet. In this way we could instantly know what happens anywhere else in the world, when in fact, unlike what happens in a real village, it is easier to communicate with those who are far away than with our neighbors. This communication is possible only through the intermediation of objects and a system of techniques. Information, therefore, as Santos denounces, is not due to the interaction between people, but rather through what is mediated, which, as already mentioned, responds to the interests of the global capitalist system.

There is also the fantasy of deterritorialized and borderless humanity as an imperative characteristic of globalization. In fact, borders have been steadily changing in the last few years, but they have never been so vivid. Donald Trump's election as the President of the United States is a prominent example of this. The very exercise of so-called globalized activities does not disclaim a governmental action capable of making them effective within a territory. The deterritorialized humanity is therefore only a fable, and the actual experience of citizenship is still a fact that depends on the presence and action of the national states.

Another myth that is also spread is the notion of time-space compression. Due to the technological advances, mainly about means of transportation, thanks to the wonders of velocity, it is possible to realize great locomotions in space in a short interval of time. This, of course, is for those who have the conditions to pay for it. Speed is only affordable for a limited number of people, so that according to the possibilities of each one, distances and time have different meanings and effects. It is undeniable, for

example, that there are nowadays from London to New York an average of thirty-five daily direct flights, and two-hundred-and-forty-two weekly flights, which the distance of 5,566 kilometers is covered in an average time of seven hours and twenty five minutes. However, would it not be more interesting to think about globalization a little further?

Global village, deterritorialized humanity and compressed time-space would allow us to imagine the realization of the dream of a single world. A world in which by the hands of the global market, things, relationships, money, fashion, and personal tastes spread over continents, races, and languages, as if the peculiarities of each people held over centuries had been broken. Everything would be driven and homogenized by the global regulatory market. However, Santos repeatedly warns: "Is this market, as a matter of fact, a regulatory market? Is this market indeed global?"[56] (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 41). The answer is provided by the author himself with two very interesting specific data. One refers to the fact that only three gatherings concentrate more than half of all the world's financial transactions, namely, New York, London, and Tokyo. The other refers to the fact that the forty-seven poorest and least advanced countries in the world together account for only 0.3% of all commerce in the world (ibid. 41). Without these fantasies and myths, which are nothing more than fables, this historical period would not exist as it really is. That is, globalization as a perversity, provided by the violence of money, which becomes violent and tyrannical because it is served and acts in conjunction with the violence of information, as will be discussed in the next section.

Globalization as a perversity

After unveiling the fables and myths created by globalization, it is therefore essential to conclude that globalization is indeed a perversity that comes to light as a result of the intimate association with the capitalist economic system that nourishes itself through the tyranny of information allied to the tyranny of money. Together, they provide the basis of the hegemonic ideological system that legitimizes the most characteristic actions of our time and at the same time shapes the social and interpersonal relationships through a new mindset, influencing even the character of people. The aggressive competitiveness of the "free market" that is inherent in neoliberalism and suggested by production and consumption is now the source of new totalitarianism, becoming easily accepted in our society, considered normal. This pattern becomes visible in the way governments, companies, and individuals act. Santos (2015 [2000]) alerts that we are facing a systemic and endemic perversity.

This depravity comes from the relationship between the violence of information and the violence of money, as was already mentioned. Money expresses this violence through the internationalization of financial capital. In times of neoliberal economics, corporations must, in order to keep themselves alive, be concerned about the financial

56 "Será, todavia, esse mercado regulador? Será ele global?" (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 41).

use of the money they obtain. That is why big corporations companies are supported by large financial companies. This represents the previously discussed cycle of the eternal quest of capitalism to reapply the profits to the self-generation of more capital. This financial and monetary character gains autonomy, and the relationship between the real economy and the world of finance gives space to what Marx called 'speculative madness' (Santos 2015 [2000], p. 44); money becomes the center of the world, recreating the fetish of capital through its own ideology. The result is that exponential speculation becomes indispensable and intrinsic to the system, bringing its consequences to all aspects of life, so Santos thinks it fair to recognize this as a "tyranny of money".

The monetarization of everyday life as the status quo has gained ground in various parts of the world in the last forty years and is, according to Santos, a threat to our human existence and experience. What we indeed witness is that globalization presents itself to the greater part of humanity as a calamity. Santos (2015 [2000], p. 20) points out some facts such as the growing unemployment rates become chronic; poverty increases and the middle classes lose their quality of life; the minimum wage is reduced or loses its purchasing power; hunger and homelessness are widespread on all continents; infant mortality remains high in poor countries, despite medical and informational advances; quality education is becoming more expensive, inaccessible, and elitist; spiritual and moral evils, such as selfishness, competitiveness, xenophobia, hatred, and corruption, are spreading and deepening within our society.

Globalization as possibility

Globalization has for some time been a buzzword and has quickly become a life motto and a social slogan. Zygmunt Bauman (1998) wrote exactly twenty years ago that the word was on everybody's lips. For some, globalization is what makes them happy, for others it is the cause of their unhappiness. Globalization is, thus, the irremediable destiny of the world, an irreversible process. However, this process does not affect everyone to the same extent and in the same way as Bauman believed. Yes, we are all being "globalized", but we must understand the process of globalization from a critical perspective and embrace the fact that there is an intimate web of relations between the development of capitalism through neoliberalism and the globalization that extends to urbanization processes. Thus, globalization has the potential to operate as a mere reproducer of hegemonies and to deepen social inequalities and fragmentations.

Despite being fatalistic or even apocalyptical in presenting his theory of globalization as a fable and perversity, Santos does not fail to recognize the importance of a "transition in progress," which according to him points to the path towards a more humane globalization and another possible world. Globalization as a possibility represents the utopian character of the social sciences, which is the necessary propellant that moves

and motivates social scientists, philosophers, activists, and many other social actors to continue fighting for the transformation of our society.

Santos acknowledges that the material bases that imprint the characteristic of the current historical period marked by globalization are the technical unicity, the convergence of moments and the knowability of the planet. It is on these technical bases that the current neoliberal practices dictate the rules of globalization and rely on the construction of the globalization as a perversity, based on the violence of information and money as already discussed above. However, these same techniques can serve other purposes if they are put to the service of other social and political foundations.

History is characterized by an uninterrupted succession of epochs, and this idea of movement and change is inherent in the evolution of humanity. Humanity is aware of this new period, but unfortunately, this "new" is more easily presented as the use of formidable resources of technology and science and the new forms of the big capital. This "new" has consequences in almost all spheres of our lives such as the urban life and the process of urbanization. However, new historical conditions that are repeated here and there in these first decades of the twenty-first century, such as the "Arab Spring", the social movements under the motto of "Occupy", and all groups and initiatives approached in the empirical research may be pointing to a change in the course of history. These phenomena are only one of the evidences of the empirical conditions of this transition in progress. In general, conditions are changing empirically when, for example, the miscegenation of peoples, races, cultures, and tastes are increasingly present in every continent. What the far-right political parties in Germany, for example, are, in vain, trying to attack, is the irremediableness of this phenomenon. Another determinant empirical fact is the tendency of this mixed population to be concentrated in increasingly limited areas, which characterizes the development of the urbanization which was already discussed, in addition to allowing an even greater dynamism to this variety between people, cultures, and philosophies. The masses and the cities gain a new quality due to their exponential agglomerations and the great diversification in their compositions. According to Santos (2015 [2000], p. 21), there is a real sociodiversity that is historically very significant like it was never before. Added to these facts is the emergence of a popular culture that uses and appropriates the system of techniques that were previously exclusive to the mass culture produced by capitalism, allowing the popular culture to exert to a certain extent a "revenge" on it.

In addition to these empirical conditions for the transition in progress, there is also the observation of conditions in the theoretical aspect that according to Santos refers to the possibility of producing a new discourse and a new metanarrative through different fields of knowledge. This new discourse gains relevance because one can verify the existence of an "empirical universality" (ibid. 21). This universality is not only an abstract elaboration in the minds of philosophers any longer but becomes the everyday and

ordinary experience of the individuals. Thus, the explanation begins to be made from a concrete history that is approached from different scientific categories and according to Santos, it is precisely this that will allow "knowing the existing possibilities to write a new history" (idem).

2.4. Urban problems: consequences of the neoliberal urban development

Given all this amalgam of relations between the development of capitalism—which culminates with neoliberal policies, and the process of globalization as a phenomenon inherent in the current economic system—one can conclude that contemporary urbanization, which is also a social product of this relation, will be marked by typical "urban problems." These problems, in turn, are exactly the motivating factor for urban social movements approached along this research in challenging this model of urban development and for the struggle towards the right to the city. One can even assume that these problems are constitutional and intrinsic characteristics of the city and the urban, since the contemporary city is usually marked by conflicts, contradictions, and heterogeneities, whether permanent or renewed. Therefore, Ana Fani Carlos (1997, p. 212) points out that it is in the city that the "*homus urbanus"* becomes conscious of the artificiality of the world, of the progressive disappearance of natural homogeneities, and of the amplitude of the simulacra that conceal the individual existence of being.

Yi-Fu Tuan (2005, p. 231), in turn, emphasizes that the city has always been an aspiration of humanity when it comes to the search for a perfect and harmonious order, both with regard to the social ties present in the form of the urban life as also in its architectural structure. The city's origins are tied to an idea of physical perfection with simple geometric patterns, which represented the yearning for control, stability, and harmony within society. Tuan reminds that there was an ideal that if people from different backgrounds lived in full harmony in the same space, the city would be a distinguished human accomplishment. However, as Tuan (ibid. 233) points out, with the development of humanity, the city is characterized by an increasingly complex society, people with increasingly heterogeneous characteristics living close to each other, so that is no longer possible to think about stability and harmony as city standards.

Two major sets of problems—or two fundamental problems—are strongly associated with cities, namely, poverty and segregation. Poverty is not at first sight specifically urban. It is even known that poverty in third world countries is almost always more austere in the countryside than in the city, since in rural areas, according to Marcelo J. L. de Souza (2008a), absolute poverty rates are usually higher. However, urban poverty has peculiarities, both because of its characteristic spatial expression, in which the slums are the most obvious expression of this fact, and because of the legal and illegal strategies of survival that are linked to it, such as street traders or drug trafficking. Otherwise,

segregation presents itself as a product of the city and it is thus a typical urban phenomenon, especially of large cities. In neoliberal cities, especially those in peripheral third world countries, segregation is intertwined with structural disparities in the distribution of socially generated wealth and power. "Segregation derives from inequalities and, at the same time, it feeds inequalities by conditioning the perpetuation of prejudices and the existence of intolerance and conflict"[57] (Souza 2008a, p. 84).

These two central problems, poverty and segregation, give rise to further specific problems which represent the most striking patterns of demands of social movements in their struggle towards the right to the city, and therefore, they will be dealt with in more detail below. Moreover, these problems relate to each other in a two-way street, sometimes acting as a cause, sometimes as an effect of one another. These problems are innumerable, and they can develop into increasingly specific problems. Therefore, the intention here is to focus on three of these problems that are manifested most eminently in everyday life of contemporary urban society, in addition of being characteristic of the neoliberal urban development. These problems are 1)the anemia of public spaces; 2)the fetishization of the automobile and the inefficiency of the road and transport system and; 3)violence and fear. The role played by globalization as a perversity under urbanization processes makes these problems even more evident in third-world countries, as could be empirically proven after field research in Recife and Hamburg.

2.4.1. The anemia of public spaces

Public space is a widely discussed concept in the social sciences and can be understood in two different but complementary ways. The first concerns the public sphere, that is, the field of action and the existence of conditions that allow the interconnection of individuals with greater or lesser freedom to express their points of view, demands, and conflicts. The other concerns a concrete space, which allows for and modifies the public sphere. One can refer to these two dimensions as the immaterial and material facets of the public space, which implies the idea that both senses are in reality intimately articulated. Moreover, as previously discussed, the present work is based on the interweaving between Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space and Werlen's theory of geography-making centered on action. Thus, the material dimension of the public space cannot be considered otherwise than as a social product and a construct of social action and is therefore directly articulated to the immaterial notion of the public sphere.

According to Serpa (2007), the public space can also be considered as a place for political action, or at least the possibility of political action. Serpa also points out that public space must be approached through a critical perspective on the incorporation of

[57] "A segregação deriva de desigualdades e, ao mesmo tempo, retroalimenta desigualdades ao condicionar a perpetuação de preconceitos e a existência de intolerância e conflitos" (Souza 2008, p. 84) .

these spaces, due to neoliberal urban policies, as something that few people can really have access. That way, even if it is public, few citizens can benefit from the use of this space which in principle is common to all. Serpa's conceptualization of public space is based on the philosophical thought of Hanna Arendt, for whom the political action is an activity that can prove the plurality of the human condition. Arendt (1972), claims that public space is the space of society, the political space, and this outline is necessarily a symbolic space because it has the ability to encompass the speeches of political, social, religious, cultural, and intellectual agents which constitute society.

The comprehension of public space, about its possible uses and accessibility, leads to another question, which concerns the idea of citizenship. In this sense, Paulo Gomes (2002, p. 175) is clarifying when he affirms that the public space is also the object of an informal pact in which occurs the cohabitation of individuals that establish limits, indicate uses and determine parameters. This means in other words, the locus of the possibility of the praxis of citizenship. Also according to Gomes (2002), this kind of standardization of space is the origin of public space and the locus of collective life reproduction. The author explains that at the moment that actions seek to break or subvert the existence of this space or transforming its rules arise, it is configured a regression in the original "contract" that establishes citizenship, which characterizes what I am calling here as the "anemia of the public space." The idea of anemia of the public space can be understood as the decrease of the possibilities for political action, deterioration of sociability, and restraints on the exercise of citizenship. In other words, it signifies a real threat to autonomy, both individual and collective. The public space anemia finds its main cause in the growth of neoliberal urban policies that act both directly and indirectly, as it was found during the empirical research in Recife and Hamburg but also through theoretical discussions.

Directly, as has already been approached, it occurs through the privatization of these spaces or in the concession of the management of them to private finance initiative. The most classic way of privatizing the public space is the complete sale of parks or squares to private companies that manage these spaces, which can still largely remain as spaces of collective use, but which, however, must follow the guidelines of its owners. In many cases, these privatized spaces of collective use have their own rules and are subject to constant vigilance through security cameras, so that it is guaranteed that only the uses and activities allowed by the owners of the space will be carried out there. This phenomenon characterizes what Walter Siebel and Jan Wehrheim (2003) called the "monitored city" (*überwachte Stadt*) and what Mike Davis (1992), in his classic about Los Angeles, "City of Quartz", more poetically and metaphorically, called as "carceral city". Souza (2008b, p. 85) recalls that the decline of the public sphere and, consequently, of the public spaces—which is something widely recognized and deplored nowadays—has one of its most relevant factors of aggravation in these phenomena of exacerbated control and monitoring. The "monitored city" creates a contradiction, inasmuch as the

control and monitoring devices, which were supposed to guarantee a satisfactory quality of life, actually sabotage the realization of this ideal, by restricting privacy and by constituting a threat to freedom and spontaneity, that is, a threat to the exercise of autonomy and citizenship.

The establishment and construction of gated communities, which is an international phenomenon,[58] can also be considered a direct aggravating factor of the anemia of public space. Many of these ventures benefit from public-private partnerships or the liberalization of the real estate market to appropriate public space and public infrastructure and generate capital gains through the sale of lots and units. Most of these real estate projects are sold to the wealthiest classes of society that seek through self-segregation a false idea of exclusivity, security, and life-quality. According to Caldeira (2003, p. 303), big modern cities are marked by social inequalities and spatial segregation, where their spaces are appropriated in different ways by diverse groups, depending upon their social position and power. Thus, the richest classes increasingly tend to live in the fortified enclaves. These enclaves deny and misappropriate public spaces and streets and point to no tendency toward openness or to embracing heterogeneities. The author still denounces the fact that gated communities "drain" the streets with the withdrawal of pedestrians and their anonymous interactions. In this way, the street is thus now, almost exclusive, (as we will see in the next section) to the circulation of private vehicles. This disintegration of the street as a space for public life and social interactions also destroys urban diversity and the possibility to the coexistence of differences.

In Brazil, fortified enclaves are currently sold as "cities within the city", but they increasingly constitute homogeneous, isolated, and isolating environments. The main discourse refers to "security" and quality of life, and therefore, these real estate ventures seek to reproduce as much urban equipment as possible, such as schools, shopping malls, drugstores, clubs, leisure areas and, even universities. With isolation and the discourse of "security", gated communities are surrounded by very high and disproportionate walls, electric fences, guards, and sentry-boxes, which in fact, deepen the inequalities and produce the sensation of insecurity—the root of social segregation. Self-segregation through gated communities is, therefore, an escapist solution. It represents, according to Souza (2008b, p.77) an escape and not a real confrontation of the problem. If, on the one hand, "exclusive enclaves" promise to solve the security problems of middle-class individuals or elites, on the other hand, they leave intact the causes of violence and the insecurity that gives rise to them.

The privatization of public space has to indirectly do with the denial of sociability which is an indicator of the change of behavior generated by the homogenization of the lifestyles, preferences, and cultures that rapidly grows as a result of the perverse aspect

[58] See Davis (1992), Marcuse (1997), Blakely and Snyder (1999), Caldeira (2003), Low (2003), Siebel and Werheim (2003), and Meyer-Kriesten et al. (2004)

of capitalist globalization. This change becomes a fundamental element of the reproduction of social relations in contemporary times, especially in urban contexts. In everyday urban life, social relations appear pulverized, regulated by a mechanism of rejection of encounters, of the phobia of the "other". This type of behavior derives from the linkages, in everyday urban life, between the capitalist mode of production and society, which are now dictated by consumption, where relations are no longer between subjects, but between subjects and objects. The relationships between people, which were previously organized by the "being" are now pervaded by the "having", since the objects and goods seduce more and more and do not cease to reign absolute in the urban sphere, which happens to be considered now as an immense "display window".

This phenomenon of the urban as a great display window was acknowledged by Carlos (1997) as a "new urbanity", which presents its remarkable characteristics in the way the public space is retracted and annihilated in the contemporary city. According to the author, individuals begin to close in on themselves, bound to something that protects them from any contact, imprisoning them in a selfish and indifferent interest for the common good of the contemporary world. In big cities, people pass the streets unseen, and no one seems especially remarkable in this sea of anonymity. "No eye-contact, no conversation. The exacerbated individualism produced a new "politeness" that is based on the refusal of the other"[59] (Carlos 1997, p. 202). An extremely striking example of public space anemia—especially in large Brazilian cities—concerns children, who no longer interact with one another; children no longer occupy the streets, parks, squares, and sidewalks or play games with one another that were played in past generations. Now, childhood relationships in urban contexts are almost completely intermediated by technique, with computers, video games, and television.

2.4.2. The fetishization of the automobile

Another typical urban problem that relates bilaterally to all other problems mentioned in the present work is what I call "the fetishization of the automobile." This problem is characterized by giving priority to the private passenger vehicle in urban environments where there are already difficulties related to an inefficient, expensive, and anti-ecological traffic system. This fetishization reflects both mentality distortions and urban planning deficiencies, as undoubtedly the powerful influence of neoliberal capitalism through the automotive industries. Urban public roads become, almost exclusively, ways of circulation of personal autos, whose uses in major cities in contemporary times become the rule for those who can afford it. As a result, neoliberal urban development is giving

[59] "O não se olhar, o não se falar e o exarcebado individualismo produzem uma nova polidez que se baseia na recusa do outro" (Carlos 1997, p. 202).

increasing privilege to the circulation space of private vehicles in detriment of other possible and collective uses.

As middle and upper-classes ride in their own cars and those who do not have a private car either walk or use public transportation, there is less contact and possibilities of sociability among people from different social classes. There are thus no common spaces that put the varying social classes in contact with one another. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the fetishization of the automobile promotes wide segregation in big cities, besides isolation and individualism. With quick and careful observation, for example, it could be verified that the occupancy rate of vehicles, both in Recife and in Hamburg, very rarely reaches an average of two or more occupants. The fetishization of the automobile is still an obstacle to the pursuit of solidarity and heterogeneous social relations in the contemporary city that contests the exclusivist development model of neoliberalism.

At this point, the thesis returns to Lefebvre (1991b), which points to the automobile as the main subsystem that builds the so-called consumption society in contemporary times, leading to problems such as the decline of sociability and citizenship relations. Lefebvre recalls that the automobile is the "Object-King" of contemporary times, which commands many behaviors in many aspects of life. The traffic has now a relevant role in our lives, which results in the given priority of parking lots, access roads, that is, a road system completely suited to the private car. Urban space is thus conceived and produced according to the "needs" and "pressure" of the personal automobile. For the author, the "Drive" replaces the "Inhabit", also remembering that the car becomes the extension of home for many; "in automobile traffic, people and things are accumulated and blended together without meeting each other. It is a surprising case of simultaneity without exchange. Each element remains in its box; each one tightly closed in its shell"[60] (Lefebvre 1991b, p. 110). This contributes to the deterioration of urban life and the creation of the driver's paranoia, who is almost always angry, nervous and/or in a hurry. The private vehicle does not only conquer contemporary society but also the everyday life, since it imposes its law on everyday urban life and contributes strongly to consolidating it as we know. Nowadays, the everyday urban life, to a large extent, is represented by the noise of engines and horns and the smell of off-gas.

The option of the private automobile is a deformed option, which privileges the parcel of the society that owns a car and that culminates in having negative impacts for almost everyone, even for the middle class. Not only because of the ecological costs, or the higher economic costs that will weigh in the pockets of the taxpayers in general, but also because of the increasingly unbearable traffic congestion that affect almost the entire population. Finally, Lefebvre still remembers that the car creates the hierarchies and

[60] "No trânsito automobilístico, as pessoas e as coisas se acumulam e se misturam sem se encontrar. É um caso surpreendente de simultaneidade sem troca, ficando cada elemento na sua caixa, cada um bem fechado na sua carapaça" (Lefebvre 1991b, p. 110).

deepens inequality in the cities because it reveals a whole system of signs that is hidden behind the fetishization of the automobile. "The hierarchy is signified, supported and aggravated by the symbols that are related to the private automobile. The car itself is a symbol of social status and prestige"[61] (Lefebvre 1991, p. 112).

2.4.3. Violence, insecurity, and fear

All these characteristics related to living in the contemporary city, considered here as urban problems (poverty, segregation, anemia of the public space, fragmentation generated by the fortified enclaves, the fetishization of the automobile) are closely related to each other through multilateral connections. For example, the fetishization of the automobile can be either seen as a cause or as an effect of the anemia of public space or segregation, and vice versa. There is, however, an extremely central problem that daily absorbs the imaginary of the inhabitants of cities, since it refers to the human condition of existence that remains between life and death, especially in those cities of third-world countries (with great emphasis to the cities in Latin American). I refer to the problem of fear, violence, and insecurity, which people must deal with in their everyday lives in the city and which is also intimately and multilaterally connected to all other problems of the amalgam of capitalist urban development in times of perverse globalization.

The fear which is generated by urban violence is so perceived or constructed because it is related to the unknown, which is constantly present in everyday life of the modern world. Fear can be expressed in a variety of ways, either through living with strangers and experiencing the differences, as well as constructed by communication and consumption processes, which is very much present in the central areas of cities, a stage for diversity and any kind of crowds. Violence has always been present in the course of the development of human societies. It is strongly present in wars, but also, and especially, in social control and repression. According to Lefebvre (1991b, p.155), all class societies are repressive, and they are guided by the double medium of persuasion (ideology) and oppression (punishments, laws and codes, courts, etc.). The operation of these means happens in everyday life because it is in it that persuasion and oppression legitimize and exert control over society. The relationship between fear and violence in everyday life manifests itself in a variety of ways in urban contexts, such as when we feel pressured by feelings of fear, and as a result, we change our habits. We modify our routes through the city, the choice of means of transportation, shopping places and timetables, the schedules and the frequency of the use of public spaces, etc.

We live, therefore, in an extremely characteristic period in which the presence of fear is conditioning and structuring factor of social relations and therefore of production

61 "A hierarquização é ao mesmo tempo dita e significada, suportada e agravada pelos símbolos que estão relacionados ao automóvel particular. O carro é símbolo de posição social e prestígio" (Lefebvre 1991b, p. 112).

and organization of space. This period is also characterized by the centrality of urbanization processes, which, therefore, makes it inevitable that fear and city intertwine in a substantial relationship to form a particularly striking combination. Souza (2008b) calls this combination as "*phobopolis"* or "city of fear". The word *phobopolis* is the result of the combination of the Greek words *phóbos*, meaning fear, and *pólis*, which means city. Souza (idem) believes that this neologism condenses what he tries to characterize as cities in which fear and the perception of increasing risk, from a public security perspective, assume an increasingly prominent position in the imagination of people, in their real conversations, in the news of mainstream media, etc.. In general, *phobopolis* is a city dominated by the fear of violent crime. In current times of neoliberal urban development and perverse globalization, more and more cities are assuming this feature. The great Brazilian metropolises can be even seen, as a great "laboratory" concernig this issues. In Recife, the theme of fear and urban violence plays an important role in the agenda of urban social movements and was recurrent during the entire empirical research of this thesis.

Our contemporary society lives in a constant state of alert since life in the *phobopolis* becomes dangerous, there is the imminent possibility of becoming the victims of some type of violence. Thus, reports of victims of urban violence come to light and dominate everyday life and gain a great deal of publicity through the mainstream media in what has been called *spectacularization* of violence and fear or the "discourse" of violence. Therefore, fear becomes an important variable in everyday urban life, because its presence changes patterns of banal behavior, such as the paths we choose to return home, the way women hold their bags in the street, where and how we live, and so on. New relationships establish and modify the processes of production of the urban space due to the sensations, real or not, of fear. The city is thus modified in its form, function, and process through the influence of fear.

The emergence and expansion of the so-called fortified enclaves, as discussed earlier, indicates a (no longer so new) housing standard that seeks through socio-spatial self-segregation to achieve safety and nullify the sensations of fear. The explanation for the option to get away in a 'getaway' to the fortified enclaves is supposedly due to the degeneration of the central and traditional areas of the city, which in the face of social diversity would be "threatened" by unwanted sectors of society, the underclass. This is the escapist argument of the elite and middle classes, which, however, does not fit the reality, since the diversity, sociability, and active life in the urban public sphere, as Jane Jacobs (1992 [1961]) and Mike Davis (1992) proved, are greatly responsible for the security of urban public space. Jacobs (1992 [1961]) claimed that the bonds of coexistence in the public space, maintained by its multifunctionality, made it interesting and attractive to people, therefore safe, since they were using the streets, generating movement. Different dynamics take place in the suburban areas designed by modernists and in the vicinity of the fortified enclaves, which are desolate, tedious, then dangerous.

This combat and denial of public space through the gated communities was also observed by Davis (1992) for whom violence is actually a commercial product encouraged by the private security market and real estate enterprises themselves. "Security" becomes a consumer good that is defined by a level of income that allows access to private security services and makes the client a member of a privileged social enclave, as a symbol of status and prestige. The social perception of violence becomes a function of mobilization for security itself, and not of true crime rates. Souza (2008b) also points to the unfortunate realization that it is not just between the elite and middle classes that gated communities are successful. Similar phenomena can also be observed in popular neighborhoods of metropolises such as Rio de Janeiro, where lower-middle-class segments of society pay and support the "closure" of certain public streets with sentry-boxes, walls, fences and 24-hour surveillance. Such a gated community simulacrum concerns and is symptomatic of a competition-based society; this is emphasized by Santos (2015) as one of the main characteristics of globalization as a perversity. By stimulating the quintessential symbol of self-segregation in the midst of a space which is segregated by this very symbol, it becomes extremely evident how the sensations of insecurity and fear, and also the exclusivist habits, values, and ways of life of elites spread through the social fabric, which contributes to processes of social segregation.

The modern city brought a spirit of sociability, which is also subject to the competitive pressure of neoliberal capitalism, so in a society where everyone competes for a job, anyone could be replaced. This logic brought by neoliberalism is fundamental in social disintegration and the spread of distrust among city dwellers. Thus, the moment of our survival depends on someone else's failure; we deny the needs of others, because our personal and individual interests are—culturally and psychologically—always placed first. Therefore, fear and violence in the neoliberal city (re)create a new urban daily life and a new architecture (the architecture of fear) that become characteristic of the possibility of control. High walls, electric fences, sentry-boxes, security cameras in public space, gated communities, fetishization of the private/personal car, all become "normal" and even desirable features of the contemporary city. These phenomena, however, progressively increase the disastrous consequences for human life in the city where heterogeneities and sociability are no longer respected. It is precisely in this context that urban social movements are engaged in challenging all these urban problems generated by the neoliberal urbanization process in favor of a humane city that is egalitarian for all. An objection towards the right to the city.

2.5. Right to the city as an answer to the devastating crisis of urban life

As discussed so far, the process of urbanization in contemporary times is a complex phenomenon that is closely linked to the development of a capitalist society that culminates with the neoliberal practices and policies of our days, which in turn are intimately associated to the effects of the process of globalization. The complexity of this process is due to the fact that it presents two antagonistic and complementary dialectical facets. In general, this represents Schmid's point of view when he claims that this is a manifestation of the fundamental contradiction within the dialectic of the urban (Schmid 2012, p. 57). Firstly, there is the urban development increased by neoliberal urbanism, oriented towards the individual, related to the digital modernity provided by the capital and to the sprint for the generation of capital gains, and to the competitiveness that is typical since post-Fordism urbanization processes. This aspect is marked by the increasing control and appropriation of the urban resources by metropolitan elites. As capitalism transmutes into neoliberalism, the quest for generation of capital is increasingly concentrated in the hands of private initiative and big corporations. State power is thus becoming weaker. As the state withdraws, the competitive and monetarized relations in their raw nature start to determine and dominate the urban fabric and human relationships in general.

The loss of state control over the public aspect of urban processes represents extremely disastrous consequences for a great part of the urban population around the world in regard the development and management of cities. This phenomenon is progressively spreading, even in the old imperialist countries, the central and hegemonic powers in North America and Europe. Problems related, therefore, to the urban become increasingly present in everyday modern life such as poverty and social segregation. These two problems can be considered very general, but reciprocal relationships are generated through them resulting in increasingly more specific problems associated to the neoliberal urban process, such as the fetishization of the automobile, gentrification, and the anemia of public space and public sphere. Thus, with the right to the city the other aspect of the process of modern urbanization arises as objection against these original problems, becoming so developed as to be considered as an inherent part of the urban, which is the reason why it can be approached as a complementary facet of this phenomenon. This refers to the fact that social potential of the urban space lies precisely in its capacity to facilitate encounters and mutual interaction between diverse segments of urban society (Schmid 2012, p. 57).

After the accomplishment of the empirical research—as I will still justify—it became clear that the model of neoliberal urban development is miserably failing to solve the problems of the city. There is no genuine democratization of urban land uses nor integral and integrating urban development under neoliberal urbanism. In parallel, and also as a logical response to the limits and fragility of state action, this has also awakened some

social movements, organizations, and mechanisms of participation that begin to suggest different possibilities of the production of urban spaces. "As neoliberal restructuring strategies have configured individual states across the various western welfare regimes, a variety of social movements have responded by addressing and challenging neoliberal urban policies and their consequences" (Mayer 2007, p. 90). Here, Mayer refers, in general, to the formulation of projects and visions of the urban that are alternative to that of economic power and its hegemonic projects, showing an unusual and inspiring vitality of civil society. As a background of these tensions, a significant and crucial question appears: Is it possible to think of a model of urban development that produces a city that is competitive, productive, and, at the same time, socially just and spatially inclusive in a global context? Finding out the possible answers to this question has been a challenging task for academics and activists absorbed with urban issues. What is really important is that our cities in times of global capitalism become good places for everyone to live. Undoubtedly, we have an ethical commitment to the search for the most suitable approaches available from scientific methods, but these are sometimes conditioned by our ideological positions and conscious or unconscious class affiliations. However, as Ciccollela (2010, p. 5) reminds, as urban intellectuals and thinkers, we have another ethical, moral and ideological commitment, which is the commitment to the right to the city. This right represents the quest for a city for all, undertaking proposals to help, even modestly, to increasingly build more democratic, harmonious, cooperative and inclusive cities.

The right to the city, as already thoroughly scrutinized, is based on concepts of Henri Lefebvre and marks the claim of a universal non-exclusiveness of urban resources and services for anybody. The research concerning the right to the city is part of Lefebvre's larger work on the whole urban question as well as on everyday life in the contemporary world in a context that recalls the turbulent 1960's until mid-1970's in France; this social agitation was a response to the urban crisis of that period.

In a general way, it is possible to declare that the right to the city should be understood as a basic "human and civil right", such as the right to freedom, right to individualization and socialization, right to housing, and the right to participation in political life. Specifically, but not limited to, it refers to the right to demand places of encounters and heterogeneous exchange, so this is why public space and the public sphere become so central to the ideal of a dignified urban life. Nevertheless, this is not limited to the material aspect of urban spaces, but it also includes access to political and strategic debates on the future paths of urban development, which would mean the emancipation of urban society. This emancipation, however, presupposes heterogeneity. Lefebvre states, that a meticulous examination of modern cities, urban peripheries or new building constructions is not even necessary to confirm that everything seems similar and homogeneous. Repetition replaces originality, sophistication predominates over spontaneity and naturality, and the product over the production. "These repetitive

spaces result from repetitive gestures and attitudes, transforming the urban spaces into homogeneous products"[62] (Serpa 2007, p. 19). These products now have an exchange value and can, therefore, be sold or purchased. Wendel Baumgartner (2009, p. 166) emphasizes that in a city besieged by consumption, the place of the meeting, that is, the place of the collective and the exchange of experiences, is reduced to the logic of the market. In this urban centrality of capitalism, the city as a place of consumption approximates the spaces and symbols of the urban by their commercial value. There is no difference between these spaces, except the amount of money applied to them. Lefebvre (1991) will give to this homogeneous space—which is the conceived space—an abstract character, in contrast to the lived space of representations and everyday socio-spatial practices.

Lefebvre's reflections on the production of space are undoubtedly fundamental for the analysis of the role of the urban public space in the contemporary city and therefore, to the consolidation of the right to the city. According to Serpa (2011), this right also presupposes the articulation, simultaneity, encounter, and above all, the creative action. The right to the city opens new possibilities for interpreting the city and the urban from its productive/appropriative processes by popular/alternative groups and social movements in the contemporary city. These groups are social forces capable of giving concreteness to the "urban society", of making effective the unity of art, knowledge, and technique (Lefebvre 2008, p. 113).

Furthermore, the right to the city is based on the utopian claims of the urban society, which demands the right to the creative gains of the urbanization phenomenon. Mullis (2013, p. 60) refers to this as the right to use the spaces and the moments of the city in their entirety, which includes the right to socially appropriate the surpluses arising from the creative potential of the urban, thus, removing them from the profit interests of state governance and private business and bringing them to the common use of urban inhabitants. In addition, Lefebvre (1968, p. 194), also believes that the right to the city provides city dwellers with participation in all levels of information and communication networks. The right to the city thus legitimates that the inhabitants can refuse and oppose the discriminatory and segregating powers that keep them apart from decent urban life, such as the alliances between state power and the power of private capital.

Focusing on the relationship between space and economic aspects, Dirk Gebhardt and Andrej Holm (2011, p.8) point out that Lefebvre understands the right to the city as the collective reappropriation of urban space, which should lead to a renewed and modified urban life, oriented to the "use value" of the city, and where the heterogeneous exchanges between people and the urban space are not mediated by "exchange value", trade or capital gains any longer. Lefebvre (1968, p. 161) further states that to implement

62 "Esses espaços repetitivos resultam de gestos e atitudes também repetitivos, transformando os espaços urbanos em produtos homogêneos" (Serpa 2007, p. 19).

the right to the city, the use value must replace the exchange value as a guiding concept for the social appropriation of production companies, markets, and goods, which is an aspect that goes against the precepts of capital accumulation, either in post-Fordist or neoliberal states. Bearing in mind the intrinsic relationship between the development of capitalism and globalization, the right to the city is, therefore, a clear demand for a complete global change. Regarding the issues of the present day, Mullis (2013, p. 60) further reinforces this aspect of urban emancipation by recalling that Lefebvrean demands for the right to the city should not be considered isolated. This is because these demands are intimately linked to the emancipation of society, overcoming the precepts of capitalism and the indirect repression of the absent neoliberal state, towards the establishment of more egalitarian and directly more democratic structures, which Lefebvre (1966) referred to as "self-management".

In recent years, most precisely from the 1990's on, probably due to the first translations of Lefebvre's work into English, the term "right to the city" gradually became popular within the vocabulary of urban social movements, international organizations, NGO's, political alliances, and also in the academic environment of the human and social sciences. In the area of the social geography, rich contributions in the theoretical field, such as the previously mentioned from Gebhardt and Holm (2011), Schmid (2012), and Mullis (2013), but also the equally important works of Mayer (2011), Andy Merrifield (2011), and Souza (2009 and 2010), have undoubtedly strengthened the debate. Unfortunately, the scope of these writings, barely goes beyond the limits of the academia. This is probably because the epistemological, theoretical and conceptual "wars" are mainly inaccessible for the general public, the social subjects who belong to social movements. Additionaly, the complexity of the topic and language contribute to the little repercussion of these works on the streets, and thus, to the little relevance to the sweat of those who in their everyday-life survival battles are fighting for the right to the city, often without even noticing it. It should be made clear that it is not my intention to undermine the importance and quality of these works, but rather to provoke the reflection that, human and social sciences, when they deal with subjects that are so explicitly present in our practical and social lives, may tend to fall into ego-traps; either they fall into the pitfall of the zeal of Scientism, or they are characterized as "postmodernist" (not the case of any quoted work here), such as the works criticized after the "Sokal affair". One way or another, some of these works end up becoming counterproductive, especially when it refers to a scientific concept that has become a conducive popular slogan in the struggle against economic and social segregation / fragmentation / inequalities of our modern times. The theoretical academic engagement of Andy Merrifield, for example, is extremely admirable, as is his original proposal that encourages 'politics of the encounter' in a globalized world (Merrifield 2011 and 2013). Nevertheless, this should not mean an antagonism to the idea of the right to the city. Taking into consideration that for Lefebvre, space is a social product of human action,

ergo, the right to the city does not only mean a restrictive 'right' to urban space. So it seems counterproductive when Merrifield (2011, p. 478) claims that the right to city politicizes something that is at the same time too broad and too narrow, too restrictive and also too unfulfilling as a signifier to inspire a collective retribution.

Otherwise, supported by a critical, effective, transformative, and revolutionary perspective, Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2008b, 2009, and 2010) advances the debate on the right to the city by defending political-strategic clarity on scientific discourse. Souza addresses severe criticism to works that emerge from what he considers to be latent academic eurocentrism composed primarily of white men from the North American or West European scientific traditions. His criticisms are especially directed to Harvey, but also to Mayer, and in parts to Lefebvre and Merrifield. Reason for such criticism are the typical Marxist prejudices and reductionisms, which according to Souza (2009, p. 478.), the authors could have not, unfortunately, overcome. "When Harvey enters the domain of practical organizing and strategy he often shows the old prejudices and old-fashioned centralistic beliefs which have always characterized the Marxist mainstream. Curiously, he is almost more critical towards radical social movements than towards NGOs" (Souza 2010, p. 320). Souza draws attention to the fact that, after all, movements of libertarian and revolutionary inspiration that have been conducting urban struggles in the Global South for almost three decades are barely taken in reflection, although these movements are creating contrary perspectives in concrete practices concerning capitalist/neoliberal urban development under conditions of perverse globalization. According to Souza, this still includes the neglect of issues such as gender, ethnicity, as well as past/present colonial heritage, which are directly linked to the issues of the emancipation of society and, therefore, the right to the city.

One of the most emblematic examples of these social movements, to which Souza refers, is the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto (MTST)—*Homeless workers movement*—that since 1997 stands in Brazil for a self-organized answer to the urgent question of lack of housing and for the active demand for social housing and infrastructure for the disadvantaged and poor inhabitants of great Brazilian cities and metropolis regions.[63] Through direct actions such as mass occupation, negotiations for their legalization and the demand for social housing, the MTST wants to improve the living conditions of the homeless in Brazilian urban contexts. At the same time, the movement puts the topic of social exclusion/segregation back on the political agenda, above all through symbolic actions such as protest marches and educational events (Mengay & Pricelius 2011, p. 258). The MTST challenges and opposes the powers of private capital and the capitalist state and, for this reason, the objective of this social movement is, since its foundation, to claim for the right to the city and for an effective urban reform that overthrows the invisible walls of segregation erected by the logic of

63 See: http://www.mtst.org/quem-somos/as-linhas-politicas-do-mtst/ Acessed May 28th, 2018.

capital accumulation. The strength of this movement is based on a spatial and social immediacy that is expressed in neighborhood organizations as well as in the social necessity of confrontation, discussion, and solutions for their problems. The right to the city is not a fashion concept for the MTST and such movements in Brazil or other third-world countries but represents the everyday life survival struggles of those who were excluded and segregated through capitalist urbanization. Although the MTST is also an extremely active social movement in the urban context of Recife, for this work, I made the decision not to approach them in empirical research for two central reasons: firstly, the willingness to raise attention to less known movements, since the MTST has been being largely researched in the social sciences recently[64]. Secondly, the intention of this work is to approach urban social movements that present new strategies characterized by art and creativity in the struggle towards the right to the city. The MTST is largely known by its traditional strategies for occupying abandoned buildings, and other traditional manifestations of an anti-capitalist class struggle.

In practice, when one looks closely at what urban social movements—especially those from the big cities of the global south—are undertaking in their actions as a form of contestation against what capitalist urbanization in times of perverse globalization is making of their lives, it is completely irrelevant to claim that the term "right to the city" has currently presented different meanings and uses; therein, it is also irrelevant to create a scientific theoretical polemic from it. In the same way, it is not so relevant to remark that the current political, social, economic, and urban contexts are not the same as those of Henri Lefebvre's May 1968 in Paris and to relativize the importance of "right to the city" works or initiatives that do not attend to this fact. It is elementary to claim that we are experiencing another urban crisis and it does not matter whether it is considered a new crisis or just an entanglement of the previous one. Like most of the industrialized nations of the global north at the end of the 1960's, France was marked by the ascent of Fordism and the expansion of the Keynesian welfare state. Since then, capitalism has developed its mechanisms of absorption of capital surpluses, and through the impulse of globalization processes, this development has tended to the adoption of neoliberal policies in increasingly diverse fields of human life, such as the administration and management of cities. In a practical sense, this represents the withdrawal of state power from the urban decision-making process and the progressive shift of urban governance to private initiative and market power.

Consequently, the task is to reinforce the idea that with the complete urbanization of society, the city is becoming virtually omnipresent, thus, any immaterial and material aspect of the everyday life has the potential to become central and be transformed into a place of encounter, transformation, protest, differences, creativity, and innovation. According to Schmid (2012, p. 58), this is precisely the historic lesson that Lefevre is

64 See Souza (2007), Mengay & Pricelius (2011), and Tedesco (2013).

communicating with the idea of the right to the city and also the other works that compose his masterpiece series on the urban phenomenon. This means viewing urbanization from different perspectives and points of view that surpass the capitalist/neoliberal modernity, producer of polarizations and inequalities. Thus, the demands for the right to the city can by no means be reduced to the mere struggle for participation in the city according to the current neoliberal molds. They are much more related to the struggle for the social production of the city itself and the collective appropriation of what is collectively produced.

Ultimately, it can be concluded that "the right to the city" refers to the effort of certain urban subjects and social actors, based on historical investigations and analysis of the present, to establish possibilities of freedom, constructions of utopias of the possible towards a dignified, egalitarian, and democratic urban life. Mullis (2013, p. 66) believes that the right to a city offers a lot of potentials and the solution can serve as a powerful, content-filled political slogan to bundle particular urban struggles, which would otherwise only appear as particular protests. These struggles are as varied, plural and diverse as possible, just as urban life should be. They range from the struggle for decent housing for all, to the demand for social and cultural open and public spaces, to the preservation of green spaces and nature reserves, to the recognition of migrants and alternative lifestyles, etc. In accordance with the suggestion of Gebhardt and Holm (2011), the role of academia is, therefore, to build and strengthen alliances between those who represent the world scientifically or artistically, with people who are both culturally and materially excluded and deprived of their own representations of the production of space in everyday life. The right to the city bears, consequently, the potential of a new internationalism, in which social researchers, philosophers, activists and also social movements of the Global North can finally overcome the colonial mentality and learn from those of the Global South.

2.6. "Rebel Cities"

The right to the city demonstrates that is in cities where the future can still be realized and won. The city offers the space for protest, political will, and sociability, and therefore, becomes a great workshop (or laboratory) for those who no longer believe in great futuristic utopias, but who are willing to change the present moment for the better. Thus, the city is the stage where the utopias of the present moment are performed. Whether due to housing problems, transit or traffic problems, violence or lack of security and freedom, environmental issues, or lack of public spaces for leisure activities: many social questions can be tackled and transformed in the name of the city and everyday urban life. Additionally, the city is then considered the place to think about everything that matters for everyday life in the modern world; it becomes the focal point of the desired change, and since they are longing and striving for change and transformation, they can be referred to as "rebel cities".

The idea of the "rebel cities" was presented by David Harvey in his book with the same name (Harvey 2012a) in which he puts the city and the production of urban space at the center of the issues of capital accumulation, which in turn generates and increases segregating urbanization processes. Harvey discusses how cities in the contemporary capitalist world could be reorganized in a more socially just and ecologically safer way, in addition to how they can become the focus of anti-capitalist resistance. The author assumes that rebel cities are a reality because the urban process and entire urban populations will never be—even in the most unfavorable circumstances—under full control of the forces of capital. It is possible to make a historical rescue of the urban revolutionary mobilizations that refers to the movements in Paris from 1789 to 1830 and from 1848 to the Commune of 1871. In the twentieth century, especially with the advances of the processes of globalization and urbanization, these movements spread to all continents and, as history shows, there are not only some unique urban centers that are involved. Rather, as Harvey relates, on several occasion the spirit of protest and revolt spread in a contagious and extreme manner through many urban networks. The wave of protests, which is no longer so actual, came to prominence in the middle of 2011 with the Arab Spring. These "rebellions" were led by young people from all over the world, from Cairo to Madrid or Santiago. It is also important to mention the street rebellion in London that was followed by the "Occupy Wall Street" movement, which began in New York and soon spread to countless cities in the United States and then expanded to several cities all over the world. Furthermore, there are the demonstrations against the increase of the ticket price of municipal urban public transport with escalating repressive violence of police forces in São Paulo in 2013, or even the clashes in Hamburg in 2017 due to the G-20 summit meeting. The emergence and immanence of these movements suggest that there is something political-revolutionary in the environment of contemporary cities that struggles to express itself and to be recognized.

However, for this part of the present work, the use of the expression "rebel cities" is due to the semantic force that the expression carries with itself and not an exclusive attempt to deeply discuss Harvey's work, however important this work is. I borrow the term coined by Harvey with the intention of giving a brief account of the diverse forms of creativity and diversity which characterize urban social movements that fight for the right to the city in different places around the world. Then, I am able to move into beginning a specific discussion on social movements. Rauterberg (2016) decides to call these creative forms of action as "urbanism from below", and according to him, city inhabitants that are engaged in these kinds of action view and understand their cities with curiosity and knowledge. They do not perceive urban space as something that is set, already done, and formulated. Rather, in thinking similar to artists and architects, experience the city in a playful-constructive way and make them their own cities, reshaping the space, evolving, and redefining it (ibid. 35). Urbanism from below does not intend to own the city for itself, but to release it for exclusive appropriation by all forms of domination, especially those of the power of private capital.

A very interesting and creative event happened in the North American city of Baltimore in early 2012 was what became known as the "Zebra Crossing Guerrilla". This movement was marked by the desire of a group of city dwellers for safer traffic, which painted zebra crossings on the asphalt with cheap ink on them because they urgently wanted safe transitions for pedestrians in the city. City authorities then quickly removed these unauthorized zebra crossings, and the group painted it again and again, and yet it led to a public debate on the pros and cons for a certain time until finally an official pedestrian crossing was constructed. The example of edible cities, which became famous after initiatives in the small English town of Todmorden, is also mentioned by Rauterberg (2016) who speaks about the German cities of Kassel, Minden, and Andernach in which such initiatives were put into practice. This movement consists in the transformation of gardens, yards or green public spaces into productive and ecological edible (urban) landscapes through knowledge and techniques of Permaculture. The usual underbrush and residual green are thus replaced by raspberry or currant bushes, courgettes, beans, lettuce, or apple trees. A creative urban intervention that makes clear the multiplicity of possibilities of transformation of the present moment, which has even the potential to approach other important themes for contemporary society, such as nutrition and food production. These topics were recurrently approached and observed within the urban social movements in Hamburg during the empirical research. Rauterberg (ibid. 36) believes that these kinds of interventions could change cities ecologically and aesthetically in the long run and define the urban space and its production in a new and collective way.

Other characteristic examples of rebel cities deserve to be remembered as the creation of the "Droit au Logement" (right to housing) initiative in Paris at the turn of the year 2007; this initiative was marked by a spectacular occupation action in the center

of the French capital to raise attention to the housing problem in France. This crisis was always especially serious for families without a secure residence status, which often have to accept degrading accommodations and have virtually no access to the normal housing market. However, as Andrej Holm points out (2013, p. 74), as a result of the strategies of this movement, not only ten families were accommodated in the vacant building of the Lyonnaise de Banque in front of the Paris Bourse, but also a "Ministère de la Crise de Logement" (Ministry of Housing Crisis) was established. The central demand pointed out by this initiative was an enforceable right to housing and the restriction of housing speculation. Demands were produced in the Ministry, where press releases were sent out over several weeks, as well as campaigns were organized and a radio program was broadcasted.

In Madrid, too, a remarkable alliance has been formed to fight against the pressures of the private housing market, which, supported by neoliberal state policies, promoted gentrification in the Spanish capital. The central district "Barrio Maravillas" was known as red-light district and poor-people locality. A real estate company acquired several houses there and, with the strong support of city administration and police, tried to turn the neighborhood into a touristic and attractive place. (Holm 2013, p. 74). However, in the same way as many other gentrification processes like this, in Madrid, the planned "improvement" triggered resistance of those directly affected by the project. Residents, shopkeepers, and sex workers have joined forces against the renovation of the district as an anti-gentrification initiative. According to Holm (ibid. 75), creativity and the rebellious spirit were also striking in the Madrid movement. With neighborhood parties, street concerts, demonstrations, and actions like the "night moaning", the activists tried to fight back. The author still mentions that the highlight of the campaign against the gentrification of the Barrio Maravillas was the "Whore Gala" in summer 2009, which was jointly prepared by almost all district initiatives and showed that in urban protests otherwise common fragmentations, marginalization, and stigmatization could be overcome.

In Recife, as well as in Hamburg, as we will see in further detail in the empirical discussion of the present work, creativity, art, and resistance are determining factors that characterize the movements and initiatives for the right to the city in these two rebel cities. Recife shows its rebel face through the visual arts, music, dance, the body, and cinematographic production that are present in a remarkable way in the occupations of abandoned cinemas, schools, and public buildings as well as large green areas that were commercialized for real estate companies. In Hamburg, art and culture are also prominent. However, environmental awareness, production of electricity and heating through sustainable sources, as well as the strong neighborhood identity drew special attention and are therefore striking in this rebel city.

In general, it may be said that the right to the city is a powerful tool, in which several different struggles and guidelines could be conformed, which in turn expresses the complexity and heterogeneity of contemporary society. Although Lefebvre developed his theories and ideas as a demand against the background of the Fordist urban planning of post-war France, the concept provides—as has already been extensively discussed—a suitable framework to argue about urban conflicts in neoliberalism. The right to the city has already proved, through various examples of rebel cities scattered around the world, that another city and a different urban life are possible when new city-political alliances and popular participation emerge. Andrej Holm is clear-cut in this sense:

> "[…] the city-political alliances and citizens' initiatives, which can be organizationally based on horizontal network structures, socially based on broad mass mobilization and the content of self-empowerment, combining intelligent reform proposals with effective action ideas. Because such new urban social movements cannot be summed up in books, but the need to emerge on the streets, in the neighborhoods, and in everyday life practice"[65] (Holm 2013, p. 75-76).

2.7. Urbanization process: interim conclusions

This chapter discussed how urbanization has been being molded along the last two centuries and is understood as a continuous process of production of space, defined by human actions. In this sense it is important to recognize the different sources and kinds of action as determinant factors of the constitution of urbanization processes, such as economic sources, political sources or the civil society, for example, the social movements. According to the broader traditional geographical analysis of Friedmann (2002), one can say that urbanization processes are understood through three different dimensions: the demographic, the economic, and the socio-cultural. In order to understand the present work, however, I start from the presupposition that the demographic dimension is considered as natural and self-evident today, representing even a constituent part of the economic and socio-cultural dimensions. The phenomenon of the complete urbanization of society pointed out by Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) has become increasingly evident and inherent in contemporary society through the data of urban population growth. The focus, thus, shifts to a dialectical and interdependent relationship between the economic dimension and the socio-cultural dimension of the contemporary urban phenomenon, understood throughout this research, respectively as the neoliberal city and the struggle towards the right to the city.

---

65 „[...] die organisatorisch auf horizontale Netzwerkstrukturen, sozial auf eine breite Massenmobilisierung und inhaltlich auf Selbstermächtigung setzen und kluge Reformvorschläge mit wirkungsvollen Aktionsideen verbinden können. Doch solche neuen städtischen sozialen Bewegungen können nicht in Büchern herbeigeschrieben werden, sondern entstehen auf der Straße, in den Stadtteile und der Alltagspraxis" (Holm 2013, S. 75-76).

The process of constitution of the neoliberal city is understood through the basic principle of capitalism of the need to reabsorb capital surpluses. This process was explained in accordance with the theoretical contribution of Harvey (2008), who sees in urban reforms from the Fordist and proto-Keynesian Paris of Haussmann until our days, the main mechanism by which urbanization relates to the development of capitalism for absorption of capital. This mechanism can be understood through the concept of "urbanization of capital" (Harvey 1985b). Throughout history, urban reforms have developed other aspects and characteristics and spread to different parts of the world, without losing their logic of capital absorption and, consequently, reproduction of the capitalist system. This development is what gave rise—in the mid-1970's—to what Harvey (2008) called the neoliberal city, which is characterized as a business corporation city, directed to achieve economic gains in the competition inherent to capitalism. The neoliberal city is thus marked by intense privatization and commercialization of public spaces and other public assets. The so called neoliberal urban policies applied to urban planning and development tend to concentrate infrastructural investments in the most profitable areas of the city, thus generating problems such as segregation and fragmentation of urban space. The different mechanisms by which the capital in alliance with municipal public administrations direct neoliberal urban development have been also approached in this chapter. However, the similarity between them is the capacity to act as a trigger for the generation of the contemporary urban crisis, which in turn drive the actions of resistance of civil society, characterizing the other aspect of contemporary urbanization discussed afterwards.

However, as has already been emphasized, the total capitalist economic control of the urbanization process, of the urban life, and of the state apparatuses is practically impossible. The urban phenomenon generated by the economic dimension of the urbanization process becomes itself a dialectical sphere of political and social action. Thus, in view of the problems generated by the segregation and fragmentation of the urban space, several sectors of urban society will turn against the preponderance of the economic dimension of urbanization, which for the urban social movements interviewed during this research is the main cause of the crisis of everyday urban life in contemporary times.

There are several urban problems in the cities today. According to the empirical findings in Hamburg and Recife, they range from problems of road infrastructure, quality of public transportation, to the provision of public spaces for leisure and encounters that are not tied to the need for consumption, or even to the problems related to scarcity and the lack of affordable housing for all. In this way, several urban social movements—especially the ones addressed in this research—become the most prominent answer to these problems, using their strategies of action for specific different purposes. In the present work, the most mentioned aspirations/targets of these movements refer to the struggles for the maintenance, reconquest or creation of public

spaces of sociability, which could offer leisure and art for the communities, and that are contingent to the current alienation dictated by the capitalist system and its reproductive logic based on consumerism and accumulation of capital. Thus, urban social movements become crucial factors in the constitution and construction of the alternative social-cultural dimension of urban processes and, therefore, are approached in this work as a central concept, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

However, it was first necessary to speak of another aspect relevant to the urbanization process, which is the role played by the globalization. This relationship is important because globalization can be considered as the apogee of capitalist development through the internationalization and urbanization of capital. The comprehension of this association is therefore essential not only to understand that globalization allows the diffusion of the urban phenomenon in different parts of the world (such as Hamburg and Recife), but also to understand that this dissemination does not occur homogeneously. On the contrary, according to Santos (2015 [2000]), it is necessary to transcend common-sense visions that approach globalization as a homogeneous fable, and to understand this phenomenon as it really is, that is, the globalization process as a perversity. This perversity, according to Santos (*ibid.*), is the cause of fragmentations in the intra and inter-urban space, which is generated by the tyranny of money, characteristic of capitalist development. It is for this reason, therefore, that the approach of these processes during this chapter sought to support the argumentation of examples in different contexts—from China to Baltimore in the USA or Madrid in Spain—as a further confirmation of the relevance of the empirical research in two different urban contexts, since heterogeneity of the urban phenomenon has the tendency (or not) to generate different types of urban social movements and their respective strategies of action, as will be further elaborated in the following chapter.

3. Urban social movements: the actors towards an outline for the right to the city

Given what has been discussed up to now, it is thus unequivocal to claim that actions arising from civil society initiatives are effective strategies, which, therefore, end up assuming the responsibility for the struggle towards more democratic, equalitarian, and peaceful cities for all. As a result of ineffective politics, dominated by an omissive political class, which is characteristic of neoliberal city management, urban social movements then play a central role in the process of production of urban space through the constitution of their everyday regionalizations. In this part of the present work, the purpose is to discuss the idea and concept of urban social movements in the field of social sciences, focusing on contemporary social movements and their various strategic/creative forms of action regarding their struggles for the right to the city, which, consequently, are directly involved in the process of the production of urban space.

In sociological literature, social movements are approached within the scope of collective social action. Social action, in turn, within the theoretical foundation proposed by Werlen (2007 and 2008), brings, at its core, three complementary categories that will vary according to two factors, which are inherent to human action: intentionality and reflexivity. As previously discussed, these three categories/models of action proposed by Werlen are fundamental to understand the theoretical and empirical idea of social movements throughout this work. Werlen's categories of action—*purposive-rational, normative, and communicative*—are not mutually exclusive. One can even assume a tridimensional dialectical relational pattern for these categories when addressing the idea of social movements, by which all categories of action could be present in a more or less striking way, depending upon a given researcher's perspective.

Social movements actions are purposive-rational when in the constitution of everyday regionalizations, it is assumed that a clear objective will guide the subject's actions. Likewise, the normative aspect could overlay (or not) the purposive realm if some rules or laws must be followed (discussed and/or transgressed) regarding the relations between human action and space. Finally, these previous categories are also permeated by the communicative/intersubjective aspect, since social movements always refer to collective social actions. As social beings, this is the most comprehensive action model for the analysis of our social world. Communicative and intersubjective features of human action are not only essential for the relationship between various subjects of a given society and their actions, but also between a subject's actions and space, which gives a predominantly body-centered characterization to the resulting spatial configurations.

As previously sketched out, the basis of theoretical understanding of social movements throughout this work pervades the contribution of the French sociologist Alain Touraine, who approached the concept of the social movement as an analytical category. For him, the idea of the subject is identified with that of the social movement insofar as the subject is the will, resistance, and struggle, and not the immediate experience of self (Touraine 1994). The key to understand this concept for Touraine is, therefore, to acknowledge that there is no possible social movement which is not in confluence with the will of freedom or the liberation of the subject. Starting from the idea of action, like Werlen, Touraine believes that the solution to the problems of society is *within* the subject. Therefore, the idea of social class is replaced by the idea of social movement, emanating from an extremely complex social dynamics in the present time. Here, there is no elimination of the conflict; rather, there is a certain maturation stemming from the idea of a dynamic system and, mainly, by the idea of the social subject/actor. The subject becomes the foundation of values, and the principle of morality becomes a purpose in itself. Thus, the particularity and importance of Touraine's work lay on the fact that the author highlights the role of the subject in contemporary society and its tight relation with the origin of social movements to understand the conflicts that run through society today. Touraine (2000) believes that the emergence of social movements is closely linked to the existence of a central conflict. Through the focus and importance given to the subject, the author still claims that in contemporary times of the post-industrial society, this central conflict is marked mainly by the subject who is progressively pressured by the advancement of the market, technology, and mutations of the modern capitalist system on the one hand, and by communitarian authoritarian powers, which tend to repress heterogeneities and singularities, on the other hand. Touraine's concern here "is not so much with communitarian organizations but with "communitarianist" regimes which give the defense of a collective identity, political, or military strength and social cohesion that usually takes the form of rejection of everything that is foreign" (ibid. 163). Similarly, Richard Sennet argues that yet paradoxically, the "celebration of territorial community against the evils of impersonal, capitalist urbanism quite comfortably fits into the larger system […] because it leads to a logic of local defense against the outside world, rather than a challenge to the workings of that world" (Sennet 1976, p. 295).

Touraine (2000) claims that class conflicts and political agreements are the sparks for the collective social action of social movements. In the past, however, social movements were inspired by the will to overcome binary oppositions (king/nation, bourgeoisie/people, capitalists/workers) and by creating a "collective subject defined in either religious, communitarian, political or class terms […] to abolish a relationship of domination and to bring about the triumph of a principle of equality" (Touraine 2000, p. 92). The contemporary social movements, as Touraine emphasizes, replaced this binary conflict by the image of movements that defend a subject struggling against the

logic of market on the one hand and communitarian powers on the other, as already acknowledged. According to Touraine's analysis, we will witness, as a result of that, the rise of a subject that "tries to safeguard or reconstruct his capacity for action and the unity of his life experience" (ibid. 91).

Touraine argues that not every collective/joint action could be considered as a social movement. For him, this concept is only useful if it demonstrates a particular type of social action: "a social action that allows a social category to challenge a form of social domination" (Touraine 2000, p. 90). In other words, social movements challenge the modality of the social use of resources and cultural models. Due to this contemporary role of the subject and its struggle against two different "fronts", social movements now must take the form of collective actions to assert and defend both the rights and the freedom of the subject. "In that sense, we can say that social movements have become ethical movements, whereas in the past they were religious, political or economic movements" (ibid. 93). In part, that is why we witness the worldwide fragmentation of collective action and the development of a heteroclite collection of demands, protests and obstructive actions. Some of them have no revolutionary ambitions and are of interest of determinate groups, which cannot be regarded as social movements because they do not have any aspiration of the liberated subject. There is another category, however, that "imply an appeal to the subject, defined both as freedom and culture. We hear that call in, for instance, both women's movements and movements concerned with minorities" (idem).

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that for Touraine (2006), the analytical category of social movement has three constituent elements, namely, the subject, its adversary, and what is at stake in the conflict. Respectively, these three elements can also be understood, as reminds Touraine, as the three existential questions raised by social movements themselves: Who are we? Who are we fighting against? Why will we win the fight? In this perspective, the social movement is a collective social actor whose major orientation is the defense of the subject. The subject is the target of cultural orientations that are in the root of existing relations of power and inequality in contemporary society. Concisely, social movements represent both social conflicts and cultural projects. In the words of Touraine, it is "a collective social action that challenges and opposes generalized social domination" (ibid. 18).

Another great contribution to the understanding of the theory on social movements that further enriches the empirical approach of this research is the work of Alberto Melucci. This Italian sociologist brought attention to the need to think of social movements as collective actors that present specific solidarity in the struggle against an adversary for the control and appropriation of resources valued by both, as the case of urbanization processes, for example. For Melucci (1989, p. 52), collective action cannot be analyzed only within structural contradictions, since action must be considered as an

interaction of objectives, resources, and obstacles, that is, as an intentional orientation which is established within a system of opportunities and constraints. Werlen's (2007 and 2008) considerations on the categories of action are relevant to understand this analysis. As discussed earlier, social movements represent a three-dimensional dialectical relational pattern for the categories of action. By bringing together the theoretical understandings of Melucci and Werlen, it can be inferred that social movements are systems of action operating in a systemic field of possibilities and limits. That is why the forms of organization of social movements, which is the main focus of the empirical research in Recife and Hamburg, become a critical point of observation, an analytical level that cannot be ignored. "The way in which actors constitute their action is the concrete connection between orientations, opportunities, and systemic coercion" (Melucci 1989, p.52). Hence, Melucci brings the whole discussion of social movements to be thought of no more as a causal binary element—between system and action—but as an interrelationship between both. In this way, he seeks to clarify what the systemic situations and orientations of a given social movement are. Melucci's initiative is, therefore, to demonstrate how we can think of collective social action without neglecting its causes.

These theoretical contributions regarding social movements discussed so far, which consider these collective social actors as an analytical category within the spectrum of the social sciences, are in conformity with what can be considered as contemporary approaches of this theme. The aura of tension and conflict characteristic of the mid-1960's marks the beginning of these perspectives with the purpose of explaining the collective action of social movements that reverberated at that time, especially in urban environments and referring to urban issues. Due to this new configuration, theories such as those of Touraine and Melucci came to highlight the positive character of social movements as builders of cultural innovations and social change advocates. For example, the social movements for civil rights in the United States and those of the European students in 1968, form the basis of what has already been exposed as the social context of Henri Lefebvre: which is, the theoretical production of the appeal to the right to the city. Plurality thus becomes the main characteristic of these movements.

Even Niklas Luhmann, German sociologist, philosopher of social science, and prominent thinker in systems theory, has made theoretical considerations concerning social movements, although this theme was not his main focus. Luhmann (1996) presents an essay with the attempt to connect protest social movements to his system theory. What is relevant for the present work, however, is that Luhmann stumbles upon what may be the plurality characteristic of the new social movements. This sociologist believes that the new social movements are trapped in a paradox by stating that they observe and describe society from an external perspective; "Thus, the "new social movements" observe and describe society, but they do it as if it were from an outside perspective. The alternative press also has to be printed and has to bring in its costs or

to have capital gains. Their communication is conditioned in a variety of ways, both positively and negatively, by the society, against which they direct their demands"[66] (ibid. 76). Luhmann still goes on to say that "social movements counter-public is in constant exchange with the bourgeois public, which they want to oppose. New social movements are thus the moment of a self-made dissipation. They are what they oppose"[67] (idem). What Luhmman fails to consider, however, is that this plural and hybrid character of these collective social actions—which he believes to be a paradox—represents through the appropriation of hegemonic techniques what Milton Santos on his theoretical clairvoyance on globalization processes had already identified as the utopia of the present moment: the globalization as a possibility.

Bringing it to a concrete and contemporary perspective, this plurality of urban social movements has become prominent since the 2000's, mainly—but not limited to—in European cities, which have been shaken by a wave of urban collective action. Håkan Thörn et al. (2016) present a rich theoretical contribution from well-detailed and in-depth empirical research, in which the need to understand the connection of these movements with the structural context of global neoliberal urbanism is highlighted; this has lead the authors to work with the concept 'urban social movements', as this present work also does. One of the main objectives of the authors is to overthrow the prejudiced stigmatization, often generated by the hegemonic media that insists on labeling these urban movements of collective action with the pejorative term "urban riots". With some enlightening examples, such as the "Indignados"[68] from Spain, the authors reinforce the importance of urban social movements in the struggle against the perversities and fragmentations generated by the eagerness of capital accumulation in times of global capitalism.

Other important events involving urban social movements were decisive in European cities to strengthen the slogan and ideals of the right to the city, as in Istanbul in 2013 against the planned demolition of the Gezi Park. In Hamburg, at the end of the same year, the urban uprising lasted about three weeks after police had attacked demonstrators and members of social movements who tried to prevent the eviction of the autonomous cultural center Rota Flora and the forced eviction of the Esso-Häuser dwellers. Other cases still deserve prominence, as in Paris in 2005, in London in 2011, or Stockholm in 2013. The common thread throughout all of these cases is that violent

---

66 „Die "neue sozialen bewegungen" müssen ihr Beobachten und Beschreiben in der Gesellschaft praktizieren, sie tun es aber so, als ob es von außen wäre. Auch die Alternativpresse muss gedruckt werden und muss ihre Kosten einbringen oder ZUschüsse einwerben. Ihre Kommunikation ist auf vielfältige Weise, positiv wie negativ, durch die Gesellschaft bedingt, gegen sie sich wendet" (Luhmann 1996, S. 76).

67 „Ihre Gegenöffentlichkeit befindet sich in ständigem Themenaustausch mit der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit, gegen die sich wendet. Sie ist also Moment einer selbstproduzierten Enttweigung. Sie ist, wogegen sie ist. (Luhmann 1996, S. 76).

68 The Spanish urban social movement "Indignados" (the angry/furious ones) carried out intense protests and occupations of public spaces in various cities of the country in 2011 against the austerity policies of the Spanish government.

police action triggered them. Such violence exposes the strong racial dimension of the social segregation generated by neoliberal urbanism since most of these events occurred in urban areas subject to racial/social stigmatization. These areas were districts characterized by a majority of inhabitants belonging to the working class or the precariat, and most of them were poor, non-white, and with migration background (Thörn et al. 2016, p. 6).

In addition to the racial dimension, these urban uprisings also reveal the importance of the dimension generated through urban segregation that results from neoliberal urban processes, such as gentrification. These two dimensions make clear the plurality of demands of the movements that fight for the right to the city. Many of these movements of collective social action addressed the social effects of inner city 'upgrade' and the privatization of public spaces. This was the case, for example, of the Gezi Park in Istanbul, where there was a massive presence of activists for the right to the city, stimulating and influencing many similar actions in Germany, not only in Berlin but also in Hamburg, as will be discussed in the chapter with the empirical research analysis. One can, therefore, infer that these movements represent different ways of reacting to the developments and effects of neoliberal urbanism. This assumption is based on the premise of Thörn et al. (2016), which believe that urban research in social sciences needs to undertake a serious analysis of how different forms of collective social actions, such as urban social movements, articulate and resist the social inequalities produced by processes of segregation from neoliberal urbanization in times of globalization. It is from this perspective that Werlen's approach of the geography-making centered in action takes an even more fundamental position in the present work by placing social movements as prominent in the processes of production of urban space. Just as it was for the work of Thörn et al. (idem), the intention of the present work is to establish a connection, which should be;

> "[…] between these relatively separate bodies of research by providing a structural analysis of urban uprising that focuses on processes of large-scale urban transformation in the shape of what has been called 'neoliberal urbanism'– and explores to what extent, and how, these developments involve the formation of new urban social movements" (ibid. 8).

The difference, however, is that a critical look at these local phenomena on the urban scale—the glance through a global perspective—cannot be neglected. For this reason, the topic of globalization is recurrent to the present work.

Following the assumption that social movements become fundamentally relevant through their actions in contemporary urban studies, I intend for the next sections to debate and discuss three determinant aspects of urban social movements that substantiate, once again, their plurality and importance. The three focuses are: the contributions of Manuel Castells regarding the social movements in times of networked digital age; Second,—and as a result of the previous aspect—the movements under the

motto '#occupy'; and finally, the considerations about 'complicity', which is the relational human aspect approached by Gesa Ziemer within urban social movements.

3.1. Social movements in times of the network digital age

In the 1980's, the Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells was already engaged in the study of social movements, working out the concept 'urban grassroots' (1980, 1983a, 1983b) and seeking to understand its relation to the role of the state in conducting urban policies. For him, the shift from a post-Fordist model of the centralizing social welfare state to an "entrepreneurial" governance model was the key to understand the dynamics of urban social movements of that time. Consumption and neoliberal market thus become the key variables to comprehend the dynamics of social movements. According to Castells, the crisis caused by the organization of large-scale consumption, which manifested itself as a crisis of the capitalist system as a whole, tested the state power in circumventing problems of public order (Castells 1980 as cited in Costa 2013, p. 11). In this direction, collective social actors become politicized and appear increasingly in accordance with the degree of engagement of social groups. Castells (1980) argues that the thematic range contained in the manifestations of these movements is nothing more than the criticism which all of them foster within themselves, that is, of being the contestation against the dominant capitalist logic. In this sense, the author goes on to define urban social movements as movements that are potentially anti-capitalist and anti-hegemonic (ibid. 28).

With the maturation of Castells' theories and research, as well as the genesis of a new world through the information technology revolution, there is a significant and important expansion for the social sciences over various domains of human action. Castells claims that information technologies acquire importance by potentiating networks which, in turn, become the prevailing mode of organizing human activities (Castells 1996). These networks transform from their logic, all the domains of social, political, and economic life in the contemporary world, with special emphasis on the action of urban social movements in opposition to the development of neoliberal urbanism.

Gustavo Costa (2013, p.12) indicates that these networks highlight collective action in the sense of creating an identity intended for collective resistance to the processes of structural domination characteristic of capitalist society. Consequently, the construction of this identity includes a project of life which expands to the desirable complete transformation of society. Castells' engagement in academic production on the specificities of urban social movements in the network society lead him to consider them as collective actions with a certain purpose whose result, in both success and failure, transforms the values and institutions of society.

Castells' considerations on urban social movements in the network society in the 1990's and early 2000's have been proven and further deepened by the wave of urban social protests and outrage that took the streets of many cities around the world at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century. These movements have become even more present and have benefited from the development and expansion of internet technologies, especially wireless internet, smartphones, and digital social networks, proving Castells' theories which culminate, therefore, with the work "Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the internet age" (2013). The social movements of the twenty-first century are deliberate collective actions aimed at transforming values and institutions of society, manifesting themselves on and through the internet. Cyberspace becomes a global electronic agora in which the diversity of human divergence "explodes" in a cacophony of languages, accents, and expressions. These urban social movements, strongly characterized by the wave of protests mentioned above, have their roots in the general dissatisfaction with the conditions of life that makes daily existence unsustainable for a great part of humanity. These groups also arise due to the motivation generated by a deep distrust and discontentment with the political and economic institutions that command society. Castells (2013, p. 218) thus states that it is through the confluence between the degradation of material conditions of life and the crisis of legitimacy of political rulers that fail or neglect the conduction of public affairs, that people will come together and become involved in the collective action in defense of their demands. Objectives of the groups and their actions range from the overthrow of a corrupt or dictatorial government to a desire to change rules dictated by the neoliberal economic power that shape their lives. By uniting themselves through digital social networks provided by the internet, these subjects overcome fear and oppression and become a conscious collective social actor. (ibid. 219). Hence, these digital social networks present themselves as an alternative to big mass media conglomerates and corporations.

The technology and morphology of these networks of communication shape the process of mobilization and thus of social change. This phenomenon, or this new modal of communication, is called by Castells (2013) of "mass self-communication", which is based on horizontal networks of multi-directional, multimodal, and interactive communication, in which messages can be self-directed, self-created, and self-combined. This is the new context, at the core of the network society as a new social structure, in which social movements of the twenty-first century are constituted through the internet, and even-more-so through the wireless communication networks provided with the expansion and popularization of the use of smartphones.

Castells (2013, p. 220) emphasizes that these networks always started, firstly, on the internet, but they need to guarantee their existence using a physical base in urban space, through occupations of streets and public squares, demonstrations, and parades. The free communication is mediated by platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, or Twitter

and the occupation of urban space form, in this sense, a hybrid public space, to which Castells recognizes as the "space of communicative autonomy" (ibid. 218). The author explains that autonomy can only be guaranteed by the ability to organize in the free space of communication networks, but at the same time it can be exercised as a transforming force, challenging the institutional disciplinary order by demanding the space of the city for its citizens. The digital sphere of these networks on the internet becomes thus an essential means of expression and organization for the manifestations that take place in urban public spaces, provoking its impact to the mass media, the political powers, and consequently, to the public opinion.

Castells (2013, p. 221) lists the reasons why these movements always need to conquer the public spaces: first, because the togetherness which is fundamental to them, requires the most direct expression of emotional bonding. Second, they must exist in society; they must be visible for media and politicians, as already mentioned. Also, because in being in public spaces, anyone can join, allowing them to gain even more supporters and become more representative. Moreover, public space is the very object of the revindication of these urban social movements, which experience the urban public space as the basis and foundation of a democratic and secure urban life, remembering the principles and motto of the right to the city.

There are also basic characteristics of these networks mentioned by Castells (ibid. 221-224). First, there is no command leader within these movements; they represent independent networks. These networks are horizontal and multimodal, both on the internet and in the urban space, and as such, they enable the creation of relations of togetherness or even complicity (this characteristic appeared recurrently during the empiric research in Recife and Hamburg as will be presented later). This is a fundamental issue for the movement, because it is through fellowship that people overcome fear and discover hope. Therefore, they find even more motivation to be socially engaged. Another important characteristic of these movements is that they are local and global at the same time. They arise for local conditions, local problems, local values, and their own terms, rooted in their specific local conditions. At the same time, they immediately connect to the world and bring problems of the global scale into their discussions and debates. Therefore, the aspects related to globalization cannot be neglected in any case. Finally, it is possible to affirm that these movements are viral, according to the logic of the internet networks. In this regard, it becomes a preponderant factor, the power of images and videos as communicating agents of messages and information. Through YouTube and the ease of recording videos with the smartphone nowadays, it is possible to generate the revolt and the indignation of many people with the blatant violence of police against demonstrators, for example.

Using all these technological tools of the internet, from social media to smartphones, and accessing and conquering the public space in their struggle for better urban life conditions, these social movements of outrage and hope drew attention for the first time

in Iceland between 2009 and 2010. The target of these popular movements and their demonstrations were bankers, businessmen, and politicians that drove the entire country to ruin. In Tunisia, between 2010 and 2011, the actions of these networked movements were for the overthrow of the president and dictator, Ben Ali, who had to flee to Saudi Arabia due to the great proportions that the movement took there. From these two cases, movements with the same characteristics began to emerge and take on gigantic proportions around the world, such as the "Arab Spring" in northern Africa and in the Middle East, the "Indignados" in Spain, the "Occupy Wall Street" in New York City, and the "Vem pra rua" in almost all Brazilian major cities—including Recife—during June and July in 2013. Nevertheless, a remarkable feature in all these cases is the use of the keyword and motto "#occupy". This slogan represents uniquely the nature of this social phenomenon recognized by Castells; the hybrid between cyberspace and urban public space in the digital age, that is, the space of communicative autonomy, constituted by the action of social movements. On the one hand, there is the use of the symbol "#" (hashtag), which is a metadata tag used on social networks to spread messages with a specific theme or content, and the word "occupy", which represent an imperative strategy of urban social movements in urban space to reach their objectives and raise attention in a non-violent way. Most of the social movements recognized in the empirical research in Recife and Hamburg fit into the precepts of the #occupy phenomenon and that is the reason for the following brief discussion on this topic.

3.2. The #occupy movement

The social movements that have become known with the alias of #occupy are socio-political movements that have their origin linked to the various uprisings that occurred around the world between 2009 and 2011. These movements, predominantly urban, had as a fundamental characteristic, the strong physical presence in the cities through the occupation of public spaces (and sometimes also private spaces of collective use, such as Shopping Centers), as well as the strong presence in social media, through what is considered as "digital activism", with the dissemination of messages, videos, protest, and demands over the internet.

The #occupy had as its main complaints, the degradation of urban living conditions in contemporary times, the constant increase of social and economic segregation and inequality, as well as the weakness and lack of a real democracy. These problems, as already discussed, are mutually related to one another and have their origins in the unequal global development of the capitalist system that culminates in the practices of neoliberalism, marked by protectionism of the financial market and its institutions, in detriment of social actions aiming the benefit and well-being of the majority of the population. It can thus be said, that the primary goal of these movements is to advance

social and economic justice and to search for new forms of egalitarian democracy. Demonstrating resistance and rebellion, these movements question how large corporations (and the global financial system) could control the fate of the world in a way that disproportionately benefits a rich minority, undermines democracy, and ruins hopes and aspirations for millions of people. A remarkable example explored in the empiric research in this regard, was the movement #ocupeestelita in Recife, which firmly stated against the project "Novo Recife". This project consists in the privatization and refunctionalization of a large public area by big (multinational) corporations of the construction and real estate sectors.

The manifestations of these movements were marked by being a true "camp" of activists from the most diverse origins, giving a completely heterogeneous character to the events. Demonstrators set up their camping tents on asphalt, on the sidewalks, in public squares or parks, and continuously occupied these places for days and nights as a way of gaining visibility for their demands. This was a clear and tangible signal against the intangible and abstract forms of power of the financial market and the omissive political class, which is ineffective to solve the problems of people's lives.

According to Rauterberg (2016, p. 11), the #occupy movement appropriates the data communication system, which makes the so-called information capitalism and computer-driven speculation on the stock markets possible, to achieve its aims of opposition against financial capitalism itself. Without the internet, without communication and notification tools such as Facebook, Twitter or YouTube, the protests could not swell so quickly. The New York movement "Occupy Wall Street", for example, was digitally born. According to Castells (2013, p. 197), it arises from the appeal made on various blogs, such as Adbusters, Anonymous, and AmpedStatus for the occupation of the Zuccotti Park in New York City. This propagation expanded to Facebook posts and then Twitter. The blog Adbusters published the hashtag #occupywallstreet on its Facebook page, and soon this appeal was dissipated by several groups and networks of activists, even in Spain, where the movement "Indignados" found new hope in the planned confrontation with the nucleus of the financial capital.

These different action spectra between the networks had mutually encouraged and strengthened the different collective initiatives around the world. Amazing and remarkable, however, was above all, how united the demonstrators were in having the agreement that they needed public space for their protest. The resistance force of the #occupy would be nothing without the reality of asphalt and the streets; it is only there, in this sphere of the real world, that the movement ignites, appears in the media, and only then it becomes more tangible to the subjects. The situation that was in the discussion forums of social media could only be imagined or glimpsed but it really happens and is confirmed in the public space of the city. This shows that in rebel cities, the urban space still has the important, unmistakable quality of bringing people together.

For major movements such as #occupy, for the rebellions of the Arab Spring, for the resistance against the refunctionalization of the Gezi Park in Istanbul, or for the protests against major flagship projects such as the "Novo Recife" in Recife or "The Esso-Häuser" in Hamburg, the public space plays a definitive central role in the accomplishment of hopes and aspirations.

Noam Chomsky is one of the intellectuals who, like Lefebvre with the protests of May 1968 in France, in addition to producing theoretical and academic contributions on the theme, was actively present in the #occupy movements, especially in the demonstrations of the "Occupy Wall Street" in New York City between September and October of 2011. For Chomsky (2011, p. 9) the #occupy movement is so important as to be regarded as the first great response to more than thirty years of class war generated by neoliberalism. The author emphasizes that the movement has already transcended the occupation of the streets with the tent camps to reach the level of occupation of the political and social consciousness of the people. Against an economic system that for decades has been shaped and coded to serve the rich minority, the #occupy movement, through the appropriation and use of the city and the urban sphere, puts the inequalities of everyday contemporary life on the national agendas, influencing media opinion, public perception, language and communication itself.

The #occupy movement was predominantly non-violent, both in its philosophy and in its practice. Nevertheless, it was combative, and due to its tactics of occupying public space to build its autonomy, and positioning against the functional obstructions of the system, it tended to be attacked by police and military forces, which in most cases was disproportionately violent. Using techniques such as simple physical occupation followed by permanency in the urban space, and the human microphone[69], the #occupy movement became diligent, and its growth shows that a large number of people does not believe any longer that the ongoing ruling system will listen to or respond to the demands of ordinary people. Instead of letting the market or the government solve the issues, these people are demanding new sorts of solutions and requiring of themselves the diligence and creativity to reinvent them at the very present moment (Chomsky 2012, p. 16). The claim for possible changes in the present moment, with what I have been calling—influenced by Milton Santos—as the "utopia of the present moment", has also been approached by Lefebvre since the social agitation of May 1968 in Paris caused by the urban social movements.

According to Mullis (2013, p. 59), Lefebvre has formulated an idea about the "possibilities of the present moment". The "possible", which is referred to here, is a central analytical term for Lefebvre and thus indispensable to understand how he

[69] A human microphone is a means for delivering a speech to a large group of people, wherein persons gathered around the speaker repeat what the speaker says, thus "amplifying" the voice of the speaker without the need for amplification equipment. (Moraine 2011)

thought social change. Hence, he tried to release the imagination and explore the impossible by making it possible. By this, it is meant that only through practice, the "reality" can be changed in the here and now. The utopias of the present moment also reveal an important feature of the relationships established within urban social movements in the twenty-first century, such as the #occupy. I refer to this transient and ephemeral feature in the search for solutions to the problems of the present moment, which in turn generates new relations; Gesa Ziemer (2013) recognizes as being relationships of "complicity", contributing to the generation of new perspectives about collective actions and social movements. This aspect has repeatedly been perceived in the empirical analysis with the social movements of Recife and Hamburg and, for this reason, will be discussed in the following section.

3.3. Complicity and creativity: a tool for contemporary collective action?

As can be observed so far, through several aspects and different perspectives, the implementation of urban development projects—for the common social good—by politics or business through top-down strategies is becoming unlikely. Moreover, increasingly emancipated citizenship initiatives—by different social actors—want more than just voting on democratic elections; they also want to actively shape their cities. Citizens now want to have the power of decision making concerning the outline of change of our contemporary urban society, the cities that we live in and the political-economical system that rules our world, based on growth as the only possibility of management.

The concept of an entrepreneurial city must now be replaced by that of a livable city. Recent political urban events around the world, such as the #occupy movement, have shown that the only way to this shift to a livable and just city is now through different social action collectives and projects in urban spaces; the goals of these collectives is to fight for a just, supportive, and co-creative life, emancipated from the powers of the market and the state. To achieve these goals, however, new dynamics of collectivization, grouping, and encounters need to be considered. These new dynamics bring new forms of relationship in collaborative work at all levels. These new forms are not only among members of the same group of collective social action, but also between social movements and the political power of the state, or even with representatives of market power.

Given that new urban social movements and new forms of collectivity are marked by the aspiration for structural changes in the gear of the political-economic system that commands the course of our society, the relationship dynamics and organizational patterns within these movements are already thought of as a laboratory of these practices towards this ambitious society. Gesa Ziemer (2013 and 2014) presents the idea of

complicity as a definitive framework for the relationships between individuals who engage in various forms of social grouping: from a small group of squatters to larger groups and more consolidated gatherings. With the accomplishment of detailed empirical research in one of the largest "laboratories" of urban social activism in contemporary times (the city of Hamburg), Ziemer seeks with her analysis to investigate and represent the different forms and intensities of relationships, which are definitive to characterize the current moment of the struggles for the right to the city with all the aspects previously presented and discussed in this work.

The term *complicity*, as Ziemer (2014, p. 322) reminds us, refers firstly to criminal law. *Complicity* means conspiracy, collaboration on decision making, planning, and execution of a criminal act (Donatsch and Rehberg 2001, p. 140 *as cited in* Ziemer 2014, p. 322). The term thus refers to illegal behavior and is almost exclusively used with a negative connotation. Complicity crimes are, for that reason, punished in several countries in the world with severe penalties. However, what Ziemer (2013 and 2014) proposes with this new theoretical-conceptual approach in the field of social and cultural studies is that this criminal connotation should be abstracted and thus makes an analysis beyond morally unacceptable goals such as murder, robbery, kidnapping, or fraud. In this way, a new perspective on collectivities, groups, and social movements opens.

The author defines complicity as a phenomenon that belongs to our daily practices. "One look, one gesture, one code: old or young, male or female, we all act more or less consciously as accomplices if we want to create something new with others"[70] (Ziemer 2013, p. 14). Thus, it is possible to understand and approach complicity as an omnipresent and quotidian praxis. Considering *complicity* not in a destructive light, but in constructively-creative fields of work, Ziemer (ibid. 85) has proved through her researches that this term is better suitable for analyzing temporary, goal-directed, and self-determined working methods of very heterogeneous and big groups, than the idea of friendship. "Complicity can thus be understood as a specific form of work, which can be reinterpreted from a destructive to a constructive and pleasurable way of working and which leads to the development of alternative structures that can bring about change and innovations"[71] (Ziemer 2014, p. 322-323).

It is possible to extract two main characteristics of the idea of complicity proposed by Ziemer, although she does not present these marks in this structured way. However, in the course of her research, *creativity,* and *ephemerality* (in the sense of fluidity) present themselves as fundamental features of complicity.

---

70 „Ein Blick, eine Geste, ein Code – wir alle agieren mehr oder weniger bewusst, alt oder jung, männlich oder weiblich als Komplizen, wenn wir Neues mit anderen erschaffen wollen" (Ziemer 2013, S. 14).

71 „Kompliz_innenschaft kann somit als eine spezifische Arbeitsform verstanden werden, die von einer destruktiven hin zu einer kontruktiven, lustvollen Arbeitsweise umgedeutet werden kann und die dazu führt, dass alternative Strukturen entwickelt werden, die Innovationen hervorbringen können" (Ziemer 2014, S. 322-323).

Creativity and imagination are becoming basic characteristics of the forms of new collective practices. People are coming together and dedicating themselves in unconventional and situational forms of collectives; some examples are to reclaim for intermediate or reuse urban areas according to aspirations of the group, to prevent privatization of public spaces, and to fight against gentrification and rental price increases, to set up urban gardens and neighborhood networks, or to strengthen cultural initiatives. Against this background, the new role of creative art practices should also be considered. This is because, in the development of these alternative public spheres on the social and city level, artists are increasingly becoming involved. Hence, art practices are currently not only suited but also needed and required to make complex urban transformations tangible for all. Hanne Seitz (2009), for example, claims that the increasingly participatory and interventionist-oriented art practice opens communication spaces and fields of activity that thus nourishes the hope of being useful, and having the competence of community, and identity building effect (Seitz 2009, p. 182 *as cited in* Ziemer 2014, p. 321). To put it bluntly, creativity (mainly through the means of art) allows transitions from something familiar to something unknown; it is a risky and vulnerable state in which even irrationality and idealism play a big role before pragmatism sets to the pursuance of the goals of the group.

Ephemerality refers to the fact that relations of complicity, as recognized by Ziemer (2013), are always temporary and fluid relationships. It is so because complicity is a benefit-based relationship in which the purpose of the shared goal must be the trigger of action (ibid. 86). It is striking that the groups based on relations of complicity are extremely heterogeneous in their composition and that people, despite all differentiation, join forces and come together for a limited period and with a clear, short-term goal. Contrary to friendship relationships, which are constituted by solid duration and high emotional aspect, complicity does not present these characteristics, because they would weaken the possibilities for the accomplishment of the common goals. In complicity relations, accomplices with very different abilities and undertaking different functions within these groups, are extremely coordinated and focused on the common objective. It should be emphasized that according to Ziemer's observations (ibid. 85), complicity ends when the act is completed, no matter if the goal was achieved or not.

Hence, creativity and ephemerality were constantly observed and verified in the actions and relationships within urban social movements both in Recife and in Hamburg, characterizing, therefore, relations of complicity. At first glance, it may seem trivial, but this interesting contribution of Gesa Ziemer in the field of cultural studies can provide a differentiated analysis on how social movements undertake their actions and why they obtain (or do not obtain) success with their goals. This analysis will be explored in detail after the description of the methodological procedures used to carry out this research.

3.4. Urban social movements: interim conclusions

In this session, the idea and concept of social movement had been discussed and presented. In view of the central theoretical issues presented in the previous chapters, it is possible to recognize that for the process of production of urban space as a consequence of urbanization, action plays a fundamental role through diverse social actors such as social movements. Thus, these movements assume through their actions the responsibility of the struggles towards the right to the city, reclaiming the participation in urbanization processes and aiming more democratic, egalitarian and peaceful cities.

Theoretically, the concept of social movement was approached according to the contribution of Alain Touraine, for whom this concept could be considered as an analytical category. Touraine emphasize the importance of the subject, which is directly linked to the idea of social movements. For him, it is thus crucial to understand the role of the subject today and its tight relation with the origin of social movements, because this is the key to comprehend the roots of social conflicts of contemporary societies. Moreover, Touraine states that the rise of social movements is intimately associated with the presence of a central conflict in our society. The understanding of the nature of this conflict is crucial for the progression of this work, as well as to the aprehension of the idea behind the social movements and their strategies of action. According to Touraine, the central conflict of our times is marked by the subject being opressed by two different fronts. On the one hand there are the forces of the "free market", technology and transformations of neoliberal capitalism, on the other hand, however, there are the forces of the totalitarian state and its political authoritarian regimes. This is the scenario that faithfully represents what urban social movements have been facing in the struggle for more democratic cities within a neoliberal urbanization: an absent or weak municipal political sphere, which oppresses the individual freedoms of urban citizens by transposing the decision-making power of urban space production processes to the agents of market forces and their privatizing and excluding neoliberal practices.

In this chapter, the idea about urban social movements was still further deepened taking the considerations of Manuel Castells, who advances in discussions about social movements in the era of digital networks. For Castells, information technologies are achieving singular importance today by strengthening digital networks, which become a preponderant way of organizing human activities in contemporary societies. Through the logic of these new digital networks, several domains of political, social and economic life have been transformed in the contemporary world. The action of urban social movements connected to digital social networks in the struggle towards the right to the city and in opposition to the growth of neoliberal urbanism is a strong facet of this phenomenom. A prominent case of these new modality of movements in the digital age

are the social movements under the motto #occupy. These movements, which are mostly urban social movements, have the singular characteristic of being simultaneously strongly present in the physical public spaces, as well as in the virtual spaces of social media, through what is considered as "social activism", marked by the circulation of messages, protest and demands across the universe of the internet. This contemporary modality of action from urban social movements today was repeatedly found during the empirical researches in Recife and in Hamburg as it will be presented afterwards.

Appart from this dimension of social movements and the digital social networks and their spectrum of action through the motto #occupy, another important aspect of urban social movements in the contemporaneity is the complicity. The idea of complicity is presented in this chapter through the approach of Ziemer (2013 and 2014), to whom the relationships between members of urban groups and social movements become characterized by ephemerality and creativity. The importance of bringing these subjective and psychological aspects of interpersonal relationships within social movements is because the spatial action strategies of these groups and their resulting consequences are directly influenced by these factors, as will be presented in the empirical discussion of this work. For this reason, it was thus necessary to use research tools and qualitative methodology capable of understanding the subjective aspects of collective human action, in order to better fit the objectives proposed by the present analysis, as I review in the next chapter.

4. Methodology

A coherent and consistent methodology of scientific research is characterized by methods and procedures that align with the objectives and the topic of investigation. In the present work, the main objective is to understand the geographical constructions of subjects and social actors belonging to groups and collectives—here defined as urban social movements—in relation to the processes of production of the urban space in the contexts in which they are inserted and with the purpose of fighting for just and egalitarian urban life for all.

In order to undertake an empirical scientific analysis of subjective aspects of social movements, only qualitative methods can provide thus sufficient freedom and openness for the presentation of subjective thoughts and actions on the part of the subjects as well as enough freedom for corresponding interpretations of the results on the part of the researcher. The method of qualitative research defined for the analysis of this investigation is the grounded theory, which through the specific procedure called *theoretical coding*, aims to elaborate substantive and complementary theories from the understanding and interpretation of data that have been empirically raised. The methodological procedures and tools used for data collection are also in consonance with the principles of qualitative research, as they also confer freedom and openness both for the researched subject and for the researcher. These procedures are the *direct observation* and *qualitative-narrative interviews*. In order to discuss them adequately—both the grounded theory and the direct observation and qualitative-narrative interviews—the context of qualitative social research will first be outlined and discussed.

4.1. Qualitative social research

Qualitative research assumes that one cannot or should not investigate a specific objective reality due to the social and spatial world relevant to the social action consisting of social constructions. The theoretical basis provided by Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and Werlen's theory of geography-making based in action make clear that space is not approached as an aprioristic and reductive material entity, but rather a product/construct of human action. The framework conditions, in which perceptions, opinions, and actions of people arise and are voiced, are within qualitative research at the forefront. Therefore, these above-mentioned theoretical assumptions also build and reinforce the precepts of qualitative social research. Thus, the decision to undertake qualitative research and to apply its most diversified techniques was not taken indiscriminately.

Although anthropologists and sociologists have regularly used qualitative research only in the last fifty years, it also starts to conquer its space and recognition among other

study fields, such as geography. According to Phillip O'Neill and Pauline McGuirk (2014), geographers have long been sensitive to the ways multiple contexts and subjectivities of those being observed and researched influence their work. "This comes from the way geographers move readily between the field and their offices and laboratories" (O'Neill, P. and McGuirk, P. 2014, p. 181). Thus, qualitative methods are nowadays central to the work of geographers and the social sciences in general. Isabel Dyck (2001) identifies four key influences on geography's endorsement of research based on qualitative methods: humanism, post-modernism, feminist scholarship, and cultural studies. "Qualitative social research approaches acknowledge and seek the multiple and partial versions of reality that are constituted in the course of social life" (Dyck 2001, p. 12618).

According to Menga Lüdke and Marli André (1986), qualitative research supposes direct contact of the researcher with the researched subject and with the situation in which the investigation has been being developed. Data is collected as texts (for example in the form of interviews), edited, and interpreted as such. The findings and interpretation of collected data are also presented in the form of a text. Thus, it is important to accentuate that scientific data is predominantly descriptive. The material of qualitative research is rich with descriptions of people, places, situations, circumstances, and events. It is possible to claim that the researcher must be aware of the multiplicity of elements, so that a supposed trivial aspect may be essential for a better comprehension of the phenomena/problems approached. Descriptive data generated and approached within qualitative methods support the apprehension of a given social phenomenon through a complex and contextualized manner and not merely as a natural mathematical process. Moreover, part of the questions or focuses of the researcher's interest will be elucidated and defined as the research advances and as the researcher has direct contact with the studied situation, trying to understand the phenomena according to the perspective of the subjects researched.

There is a desire of many qualitative researchers that their works would be able to make more direct connections with projects seeking to enhance forms of justice and the empowerment of marginalized groups, such as in the specific case of the present work with the social movements engaged with the call and the struggles for the right to the city. In this regard, one can speak about the intent of the researcher, which is a clear and main feature of qualitative methods. Milton Santos (1997) argues that the importance of the method and its discussion is undeniable for geography because it refers to a construction of an intellectual system that allows, analytically, to approach reality from a certain point of view. This is not the knowledge *perse* or *a priori*, but a construction. It is in this sense that social reality is intellectually constructed (Santos 1997). Thus, the use of the method allows the generated knowledge to be seen as a possibility and not as a dogmatic doctrine.

Maria Minayo (2012) refers to the verb *comprehend* as the main action in qualitative research. Issues such as the singularity of the individual, his/her particular experience, and role/place within the group to which he/she belongs are fundamental to contextualize the reality in which he/she is inserted. In seeking to answer questions in a spatiotemporal context, qualitative research is not able to be generalized. This does not mean that they are not objective, not rigorous, or that they lack in scientific credibility, but rather, the approach and treatment of the phenomena are subjectively developed. If, on the one hand, qualitative research is concerned with capturing a level of reality that cannot be captured quantitatively, on the other hand, the researcher can only develop a critical posture that qualifies him/her to deepen the data collection if he/she actively seeks new interlocutors and fieldwork observations. This is necessary because there is the objective of articulating and enriching the information collected since the object of qualitative research is always a constructed object.

One can assume that qualitative methods are concerned about the process and not simply about the results or an outcome. The interest of researchers undertaking qualitative approaches is to verify how a certain phenomenon manifests itself in the activities, procedures, and daily interactions. Qualitative approaches thus are a response to a need for social science research about people who are social beings in a world that is socially constructed. Hence, "in ways that are discernible, for sure, but only in part, because the world is overfilled with contingencies beyond the powers of any data collection and analysis methodologies to unravel" (O'Neill, P. and McGuirk, P. 2014, p. 186).

Finally, it must be made clear that basic constructivist assumptions are the foundation of qualitative social research. Suchy (2017, p. 136) illuminates this when she says that qualitative methods should be based on everyday life knowledge; "the contextuality of everyday practices is a guiding thought in the research process. Researchers should reflect the subjectivity of individual of research and the investigation itself, as the researcher him/herself constitutes part of the knowledge generation process. Understanding and not explaining; this is the principle of knowledge"[72] (ibid. 136).

[72] „Die Kontextualität alltäglicher Praktiken ist ein leitender Gedanke im Forschungsprozess. Forschende sollten die Subjektivität von Untersuchten und Untersuchern reflektieren, da der Forschende selbst Teil der Erkenntnis ist. Verstehen und nicht erklären, ist das Erkenntnisprinzip" (Suchy 2017, S. 136).

4.2. Methodological procedures, techniques, and tools

According to Eva Lakatos and Marina Marconi (2000), methodological procedures, techniques, and tools "are a set of precepts or processes that serve a specific science; they are also the abilities to use these precepts or norms in the attainment of their purposes"[73] (Lakatos and Marconi 2000, p. 107). These tools and techniques correspond, therefore, to the practical part of the collected and observed data. It is necessary that the researcher knows and chooses appropriate techniques and tools, thinking about what he wants to collect and never losing sight of his/her research objectives.

The technical procedures used in the present work for the collection of qualitative research data were the direct observation and the qualitative-narrative interviews. These interviews were recorded in audio format and were fully transcribed afterwards. For the analysis and interpretation of the data obtained using these procedures and techniques, the chosen method was the *grounded theory* with its precepts of *theoretical coding*, as will be further considered at the end of this chapter.

4.2.1. Direct observation

The observation of processes and events is central to geography's concern for accurately representing the complexity of social and natural phenomena. The traditional and still widely practiced technique of observation is the direct "on-the-ground" contact between researcher and subject through field observation and exploration. Fieldwork is particularly the most effective way of making observations at the micro- to mesoscales. Fieldwork not only allows geographers to make direct observations in places where local data are missing or unreliable and to check the validity of existing sources, but also provides an important tool for the acquisition of knowledge and a means of promoting awareness and appreciation of the multiple and plural aspects of social-human phenomena and the environment.

In this sense, I have conducted fieldwork in Recife, Brazil, and Hamburg, Germany, to familiarize myself with and learn the specific characteristics of the urban form resulting from urbanization processes in these cities. The different facets of everyday urban life are also other dimensions that could be observed through fieldwork. The journeys made in the cities, especially those using public transportation, or by bicycle, to the meetings with the interviewed subjects and the accomplishment of the interviews, were enriching moments for this phase of the observation of the form and content of the urban in these cities. The considerations on Lefebvre's production of space guided most of these journeys and the direct observation of current urbanization processes in

[73] "As técnicas de coleta de dados são um conjunto de preceitos ou processos de que se serve uma ciência; são, também, as habilidades para usar esses preceitos ou normas, na obtenção de seus propósitos" (Lakatos & Marconi 2000, p. 107).

Recife and Hamburg and how these processes leave their marks on the physical aspects of the city. What are the marks of the past that are present in today's urban characteristics? What general meanings do these marks carry with them? What are the characteristically current and contemporary marks of the urbanization process? Is there any co-existence between these different historical times and processes? In general, how do these urban marks influence the everyday lives of that city's people?

After this more general aspect of urbanization, I was able to observe research subjects and gatherings of these groups and collectives through meetings in specific places such as group bunkers/depots/offices, occupations, or other public and private spaces. These were the moments in which the most subjective aspects of the individuals, their actions, strategies, relationships, and many other subtle details came to light through observation. During my presence in certain events of these groups, it was possible to make observations regarding the individual, socio-spatial constructions related to the relationship of these subjects to the urbanization process, which were later further approached with the use of qualitative-narrative interviews.

The fieldwork and observations were executed in three different opportunities in Hamburg. From the 1st to 4th of July in 2014, from the 24th to the 28th of July in 2015, and from the 28th of September to the 5th of October in 2017. In Recife, fieldwork for the present thesis was completed in only one but longer opportunity; from the 6th to the 21st of December in 2016. Photographic records, as well as annotations in the fieldwork notebook were performed to enrich the process of data analysis and interpretation.

4.2.2. Qualitative-narrative interviews

Nowadays, qualitative interviews are very common in social sciences and play an important role in social-constructivist research projects because their potential uses are highly diverse. They serve, among others, to the identification of specific knowledge about the respective field of research, the recording, as well as the analysis of the subjective perspective of the observed subjects. Through the possibility of asking about everyday aspects of urban life, situational interpretations, points of view, reasons for action, and the possibility of discursive understanding of interpretations, qualitative interviews provide, therefore, important opportunities to the empirical implementation of action-centered qualitative research. According to Suchy (2017), there are various forms of qualitative interviews which vary according to "the degree of openness of pre-defined or non-fixed questions and topics, as well as due to the decision whether it is a narrative (active listening) or more active questioning"[74] (Suchy 2017, p. 136-137). Christel Hopf (2017, p. 351-352) tries to make this even more clear when she formulates

[74] „...aufgrund des Grades an Offenheit vorab festgelegter oder nicht festgelegter Fragen und Themen sowie aufgrund der Entscheidung differieren, ob es um eine Erzählaufforderung (aktives Zuhören) oder eher um aktives Fragen geht" (Suchy 2017, S. 136-137).

two important questions that lead to the differentiation between variants of qualitative interviews, namely:

1. the question of whether the interview is based on questions previously formulated, which the sequence may also be specified in the interview, or whether the interview is conducted very openly by a few, pre-established questions.

2. the question of whether in the interview the call for narration is in the foreground—as in the narrative interview—or whether it is primarily about the collection of more general interpretations, political orientations, or complex arguments. While in the first case, the demand for narration and active listening dominates; in the other case, there are more active questions and inquiries, cautious reasoning, and building up possible contra-argumentative positions which are more relevant.

For the present research, I opted for the qualitative-narrative interview since this technique can provide a broad spectrum of collected research data in a relatively short amount of time. Moreover, qualitative-narrative interviews enable the apprehension of not only details of the personal stories of the subjects, but also its whole background, which for the present work plays an important definitive role. The problematic events, such as transformation processes, crises, or situations with start and end points, which then cause ruptures, are well accessed through narrative interviews. This is the case of the right to the city and the social movements involved with it, marked by crises, tensions, and ruptures, which were confirmed during the realization of the interviews.

Nonetheless, although I have conducted narrative interviews throughout this research, it is important to mention that it did not follow any absolute strict schema of narration. Openness and freedom as main features of the interview as well as the stimulus to the narration were present during the whole execution of this stage, however, in combination with careful but provocative interventions. The reason for that is that not every clipping of the social reality is accessible through the narrative. Suchy (2017) reminds that unlike moments of crisis, tension, and rupture, "routines and regular processes are difficult to tell, it is rather worth telling what breaks out of the routines"[75] (ibid. 139). Therefore, interventions and other narrative stimuli can repeatedly be observed in the course of the interviews to even more enrich it. Next to all of this reasoning, as well placed by Hopf (2017), the different variants of qualitative interviews in the practice of empirical social research can often be used in combination and sometimes even do not even need to be explicitly mentioned if the purpose is to maintain fluidity in the interview.

Thus, narrative interviews are a powerful tool for social researchers. It allows the deepening of the scientific investigation and the combination of life histories with socio-

[75] „Routinen und regelmäßige Abläufe sind schwerer zu erzählen, eher erzählenswert ist, was aus den Routinen herausbricht" (Suchy 2017, S. 139).

historical contexts, making possible the understanding of the senses that produce changes in the beliefs and values that motivate and justify the actions of the interviewed subjects. Life histories emerge—both from the interviewee and those intertwined in the situational context—from this methodological tool that aims at a depth of specific/subjective aspects researched. This type of interview aims to encourage the interviewed subjects to tell something about some important event in their life or social context (Jovchelovich, S., Bauer, M. W. 2002). Hence, as Camila Muylaert et al. (2014, p.194) claim, in the narratives the author does not make a standard report on his experience, but tells a story about it, having the opportunity to think about something that he/she had not yet thought about. There is, thus, an important collaborative feature in narrative interviews, since the stories emerge from the interaction, the exchange, and the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee (Muylaert et al. 2014, p. 194). As the authors emphasize, the narrative is a simple "handcrafted" way of communication, without the intention of transmitting information, but contents from which the experiences can be transmitted. Thereby, Walter Benjamin (1975, p.64) considers the experience as the central concept of his theory and the narrative as the expression of it. Enriched by the narratives, the style of the scientific texts becomes simpler, more fluent, and more likely to the literary genre, but above all, one comes closer to reflections on questions that concern us all in these complex times in which we live, especially in respect to urban issues.

The richness of this technique also proposes a challenge to the researcher: to become part of the process, in which carefully listening to what emerges from the subjects involved in their histories, admits that it is crossed by the singularity of the plot of significations that is created by each interviewee. Therefore, the researcher collaborates with the interviewee and involves him/her in the research, so that both are modified after that encounter. In this sense Muylaert et al. (2014, p.197) understand the narrative as a way of comprehending the experience, making the experience, in this case, the fundamental basis of what is captured in the research.

For the completion of the present work, the interviews took place from the 6th to the 21st of December in 2016 in Recife and from the 28th of September to the 5th of October in 2017 in Hamburg. Five interviews were conducted with representatives of chosen social movements in each respective city. This quantity had not been previously defined, but rather established in the course of the fieldwork, based on the criterion of saturation and repetition of the information obtained. The interviewees were chosen by the importance that certain social movements and groups of both cities acquired in the media in recent years. As previously mentioned, Recife and Hamburg are cities where social-spatial issues concerning their urban development and urbanization process and, therefore, the response given by diverse social actors have received special attention from the media and academia. In this way, I was able to get in touch, through Internet searches on blogs and Facebook pages with a representative of the "Ocupe Estelita"

movement in Recife, who became available to collaborate with the research, both in participating in an interview and with the intermediation of new contacts with other representatives integrated in the network of urban social movements in Recife. In Hamburg, the process happened in the same way. After contacting a representative of the "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" network through the Internet, I was able to schedule an interview in addition to being assisted in becoming connected with other network contacts.

The interviews were all conducted in the mother tongue of the interviewees. That is, in Brazilian Portuguese in Recife and German in Hamburg. This allowed interviewees to have more freedom and openness in the development of their narrative constructions. On the one hand, this might have been a difficulty concerning the interviews in German, given that this is not my mother tongue. However, since only a brief stimulus to the narrative was much more important than possible interventions, this potential language barrier posed no obstacle to the conclusion of the interviews. Moreover, the interviews in Hamburg were conducted intentionally at the end of the programmed fieldwork activities, that is, about three and a half years after the start of this PhD research, so that my German language proficiency was more adequate for conducting the interviews in this city.

As already mentioned, all interviews were recorded in digital audio format and later fully transcribed.[76] The transcription of interviews, according to Eduardo Manzini (2004), represents the third phase, or the third moment of the interview process, succeeding the elaboration of the interview plan and the interview itself. The purpose of the transcription is to transpose the oral information and everything that was said by the interviewee and the interviewer into written information. During the transcription, impressions, and hypotheses sometimes surface intuitively while listening and writing. Always when the transcription is being carried out, there is a tendency, intentional or not, to interpret the information. Sometimes, after an interview, an image is idealized about the information and data that has been collected and, when performing the transcription, this image can be totally undone or confirmed. Therefore, Manzini (ibid. 9) considers the transcription as a pre-analysis step of interpretation of research data, and this is a reason why it is recommended that the researcher undertake transcription work by him/herself. For the present research there was no need to stick into strict rules for the transcription of speech details such as emphasis, pauses, and accentuation, since these nuances did not influence the result of the interpretation of data, which is, in fact, centered on the grounded theory method, as will be discussed below.

[76] All interview transcripts and other analysis files are under request available as raw data.

4.3. Grounded theory: a method for interpretation of qualitative data

For the evaluation and interpretation of the collected data, I opted for the use of a specific stage of the method known as *grounded theory*. This stage is called *theoretical coding*, which after its implementation, results in the elaboration of substantive theories, which in turn, corresponds to the elaboration of a history, a narrative. This narrative concerns a description of the central issue of the present research and its conclusion. The use of grounded theory and its specific theoretical coding as a research method for the analysis of texts produced by data collection in qualitative social research is suggested by Andreas Böhm (2017).

Although this work is not based on the overall methodological framework of the grounded theory, I believe it is necessary to contextualize it to justify the use of the theoretical coding. Grounded theory is a qualitative method elaborated initially by the intersection of theoretical-philosophical perspectives of its founders, the American sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. The first publication that presented the guidelines of this methodological proposal was *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The authors state that grounded theory is a general method of comparative analysis, a set of procedures capable of systematically generating a theory supported by the data (ibid.). Its contribution to qualitative research was guided by notions of human activity, emerging processes, social-subjective significations or constructions, problem-solving practices, and the unrestricted study of action (Charmaz 2009, 21).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) seek to establish a research method in which the researcher, rather than taking the theory as a starting point, "forcing" presuppositions and pre-existing theoretical categories/concepts, should seek to conceive a theory based on representative data of the reality of the subjects studied. In other words, turning the theoretical construction into the *arrival point*. In the research model of grounded theory, the researcher starts from the empirical observation and only after that, begins with the definition of concepts. The idea, in this case, is to start the research not by defining an analytical-theoretical framework, but rather with a general problem conceived only regarding broader disciplinary perspectives (Dey 1999). This substantive area of research would be sufficient as a starting point for the researcher to decide what and where to study. Once the problem has been identified—defined in general terms—and the place where this problem can be studied has been selected, the researcher must allow the gradually emerging evidence to guide his/her research agenda (ibid.).

However, when talking about a theory that emerges from the data, it is necessary to make clear what kind of theory it is. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.32-33) use a classification that considers two types of theory: formal and substantive. Formal theories are broader, more general—such as Lefebvre's theory of the production of space or Werlen's theory of geography-making based in action. Such theories are designed to be approached in a

more generalized manner, that is, of being applied to a wide variety of disciplines, interests, and problems. Substantive theories, in turn, seek to reflect the complexity of social life. They are specific, limited in scope, rich in detail, and applicable only within the limits of a given social context.

With the use of the theoretical coding technique for the analysis of the data produced during the fieldwork through observations and interviews, I intend to reach the final product that characterizes substantive theories regarding the relations between urban social movements in Recife and Hamburg and the struggles towards the right to the city and the correspondent processes of urban development. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the purpose of this investigation is *not* the search for the absolute truth that would be applicable to all contexts, but to produce relative and contextualized truths, susceptible of different readings and interpretations.

The conception of this method seeks to contest the strong positivist line prevalent in scientific research of the 1960's. The active making of grounded theory is established *a priori*, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967) by certain elements that cover the following practices listed by Kathy Charmaz (2009, p. 19), which I applied to this research:

1. The simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis;

2. The construction of codes and analytical categories from the data and not from pre-conceived and logically deduced hypotheses;

3. The use of the constant comparative method, which includes the preparation of comparisons during each step of the analysis;

4. The advancement of the theory development at every step of data collection and analysis;

5. The drafting of memos to elaborate categories, specify their properties, determine relationships between categories and identify gaps.

As previously mentioned, the interest here is only to apply—during the evaluation process—the technique of theoretical coding to perform the analysis of the data produced during the field research and to assist the production of substantive theories, as described by Böhm (2017). The most important intellectual activity in the evaluation process is the comparison. Comparison, in this case, does not mean the search for identical content, but the search for similarities and differences. Coding can be described as decrypting or translating data and "includes the naming of concepts as well as their further explanation and discussion"[77] (Böhm 2017, p. 476). The explanations reflect in the code notes. Thus, the result of the coding is finally a list of concepts as well as an

[77] „[...] umfasst die Benenung von konzepten wie auch ihre nähere Erläuterung und Diskussion" (Böhm 2017, S. 476).

explanatory text. Three types of coding are distinguished, which have the character of phases in the research process, namely: open, axial, and selective coding. 'Code' is atechnical term of the evaluation process and means a determined concept.

Open Coding – In this first step, the data is analytically 'broken down', whereby the principle of grounded theory shows that, from the text, successive concepts are developed that can eventually be used as building blocks for a model. For the beginning, it is recommended to evaluate individual short passages (line by line). Later, larger paragraphs or whole texts can be coded. Open coding strictly fixes the data, considering the actions in each segment of these rather than applying preexisting categories. According to Charmaz (2009, p.38), during this stage the researcher must think about the following questions: What do these data represent to the study? What do the data suggest or affirm? From whose point of view? Which theoretical category do the data indicate? Throughout this process, intense expressions manifested by the subjects interviewed can be potentially aggregated to the theory in a literal way. Such expressions are referred to as *in vivo* codes.

Axial Coding – According to Böhm (2017) this step refines and differentiates existing concepts and gives them the status of categories. "A category is now the center of attention, and a network of relationships is worked out around it"[78] (Böhm 2017, p. 479). The author claims that axial coding is typically used in the middle and later stages of the evaluation. Like open coding, axial coding is firstly applied to very short text segments and later to larger sections of text or to the entire text. For the design of the substantive theory, it is above all important to determine relations between the axial category and the related concepts in their formal and content-related aspects. To simplify this process, rather than to look for any kind of relations, grounded theorists emphasize causal relationships and fit things into a basic frame of generic relationships. In other words, the axial category is worked out in its temporal and spatial relationships—such as cause-and-effect relationships and mean-purpose relationships. Strauss' (1987) encoding paradigm to determine the relations between categories that relate to partial aspects of social action has proved its worth and was demonstrated through the graphic in the next page elaborated by Böhm (2017).

Finally, it is important to mention that actions and interactions lead to certain consequences. Strauss (1987, p.57) recommends paying attention to linguistic features in the collected data when applying the coding paradigm. On the one hand, researchers should see and pay attention to keywords such as 'because', or 'due to' as evidence of causal conditions. On the other hand, consequences of actions are often indicated by expressions such as 'as a consequence of', 'therefore', 'with the result', and 'consequently'.

---

[78] „Eine Kategorie wird in den Mittelpunkt gestellt, und ein Beziehungsnetz wird um sie herum ausgearbeitet" (Böhm 2017, S. 479).

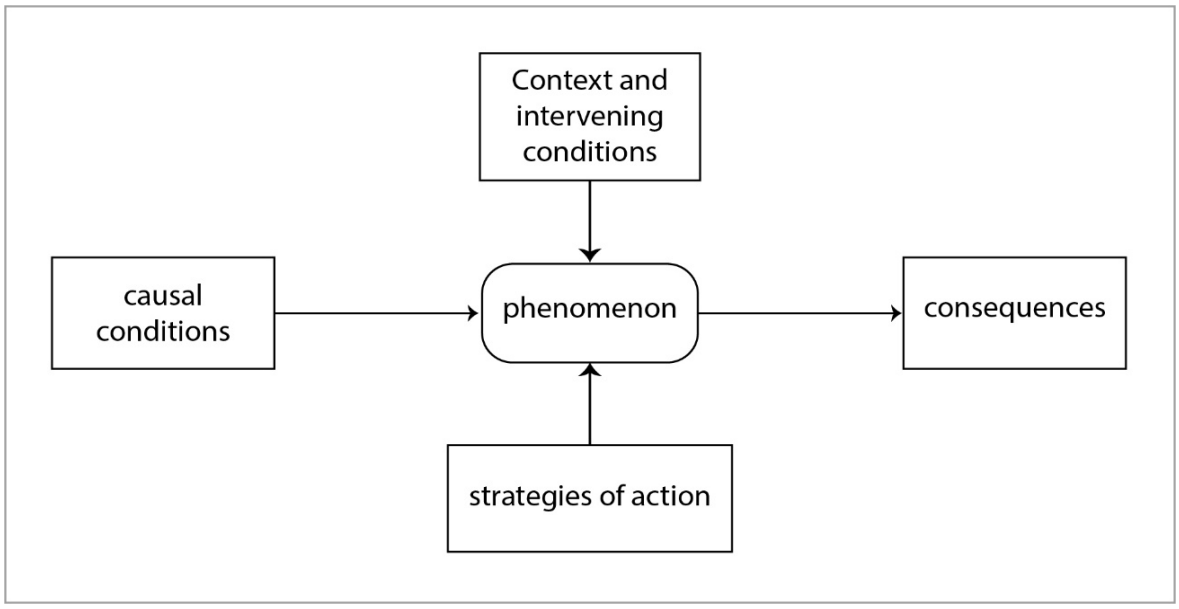

Figure 3: Coding paradigm for social science issues. (Böhm 2017, p. 479).

Selective Coding – This is the last step of theoretical coding. It is a sophisticated level of coding that follows the categories elaborated in the previous step. Charmaz (2009) clarifies that the theoretical codes and categories produced at this point in the process are integrative and assist in the process of telling an analytical history/narrative/theory coherently. "Therefore, these codes not only conceptualize how their essential codes are related, but also change their analytical history to a theoretical orientation"[79] (Charmaz 2009, p. 94). It is at this stage that, according to Massimiliano Tarozzi (2011, p. 154), the construction of categories reaches fullness and the theorization proceeds to the identification of the central categories and the key concepts which will organize the substantive theory. Francisco Leite (2015, p. 83), additionally affirms that when the selective coding starts, the stage of theoretical classification of categories aims to find the core category: that is, the main category that has the potential to integrate the theory and develop it around its empirically emerged conceptual cores. This process will lead to the writing of the substantive theory, as a product of whole coding work and compose the conclusion of the research efforts of the present work.

[79] "Por isso, esses codigos não apenas conceituam o modo como os seus códigos essenciais estão relacionados, mas também alteram a sua história analítica para uma orientação teórica" (Chamaz 2009, p. 94).

5. What About the right to the city in Recife?

Before beginning to detail the empirical research on urban social movements in Recife, it is necessary to perform a short historical, urban, and geographic contextualization of the city. Recife is the capital of the state of Pernambuco in northeast Brazil. It is a port city on the Atlantic coast with over 1.5 million inhabitants.[80] The name "Recife" alludes to the rocky and coral reefs[81] that protect the city's beaches. The area of Recife was settled in 1537 by the Portuguese. However, between 1630 and 1654, after an invasion, the area became the main base and the trading center of the Dutch, who were trying to challenge the Portuguese rule over Brazil and invaded the Captaincy of Pernambuco—the richest Captaincy of colonial Brazil and the largest producer of sugar in the world at that time—(Cabral 2012) in order to build the colony "New Holland". The Count and General Governor Maurits van Nassau, who worked for the Dutch West India Company, was then considered the actual city founder. He called the city *Mauritsstad* (Portuguese: Maurícia) and tried to develop the new colony economically and culturally through the implementation of administrative reforms and the reactivation of the sugar trade system and the reconstruction of more than one hundred and fifty sugar mills that had been destroyed during the battles for the conquest of the territory of Pernambuco.

In 1654, with the triumph of the Portuguese in the "Guararapes Battle", the Dutch had to give up the colony. The Guararapes Battle is considered the most remarkable episode of the Pernambuco Insurrection, which ended the period of Dutch invasions in Brazil and the so-called "Dutch Brazil" (the "New Holland" colony) in the seventeenth century. The signing of the Dutch capitulation took place in Recife in 1654 and then the last Batavian ships departed back to Europe. Herein, Maurícia became Portuguese again, and in 1710, the town was renamed "Vila do Recife", and finally, in 1823, Recife became the capital of Pernambuco instead of Olinda.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Recife was still a very influential city in the Brazilian political-economic scene, profiting from the wealth generated by the production and trade of sugar in the region. In the 1910's, the city sought to become modern,—inspired by Paris—by reforming the harbor and building large and broad avenues, without concern for the preservation of historic buildings, many of which were completely demolished. As in the Baron Haussmann's Paris, this urban reform brought with itself a great change in the lifestyle of the population of Recife. This period marked then the beginning of times of cultural turmoil, and the Belle Époque showed the search for new languages to translate the rapid changes brought about by the new techniques. Thus, until the middle of the century, the cultural and economic elite in Recife had a

80 IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - Sinopse do censo demográfico: 2010 / IBGE. https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/pe/recife

81 "Recife" is the Portuguese word for "reef".

strong French cultural influence (Pessoa 2003). Recife assumed this innovative, modernist and avant-garde position by hiring the renowned landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx in 1934 to develop urban and landscape projects in the city. The work of Burle Marx has as a fundamental characteristic the intense use of the national native vegetation like typical plants of the desert biome and ecoregion of interior northeastern Brazil known as *Caatinga*. In this way, Burle Marx sought to disassociate gardens and public parks in Recife from the "European influence", sowing the *Brazilian soul* and spreading the sense of *Brazilianness*. Even today, the public gardens and squares projected by him in the city are recognized as important architectonic and urbanistic landmarks.

In the 1950's, Recife already presented its current urban outline, which was characterized by the population growth caused by the migration of people from the Northeastern countryside and the extinction/persecution of *quilombos.*[82] The poor, marginalized, and mainly black population was then forced to live on the city streets, and as homeless, they later constituted the first spontaneous settlements that gave rise to immense slums, typical of urbanization processes in Latin America. Since the 1970's, urban sprawl and inefficient city planning have generated the "urban chaos"—which no longer constrained the high population growth rates—verifiable in the physical, political, and social aspects, limiting the possibilities of housing for the lower income segments and aggravating the inequalities and segregation between the various social classes. The logic of neoliberal urbanization,—based, among others, on real estate speculation—transforms the use of urban land in Recife, which loses its social character by being transformed into a commodity, reaching exorbitant prices for the purchasing possibilities of the majority of the population.

According to Ciccolella (2014, p. 95), the result of these above mentioned urban territorial transformations—which he considers typical of Latin-American urbanization processes of the 1990's—on a historically unequal socio-economic-territorial structure, seems to be the aggravation of itself. Recife is a conspicuous example of this logic and process: the European city model, which is more compact from the physical point of view and more equitable regarding social-spatial distribution, gave way to the American city model, more dispersed and structured into "islands" (ibid.), connected through highway networks, which characterizes the logic and fetishization of the automobile. Thus, an emerging urban structure combines residence in isolating "neighborhoods" that privatize the public space, such as gated communities. Another particularity originated from these dynamics in Recife: as well as in almost great Latin-American cities in contemporary times, consumption and recreation are now mainly permeated through the offer of shopping centers and amusement/entertainment centers. Also, basic services such as education, health, and safety are economically exploited by private

82 *Quilombos* were typical Brazilian hinterland settlements founded by people of African origin since the seventeenth century and almost until the mid-twentieth century, mainly by escaped slaves, as a form of resistance against the slavery regime (Kent 1965).

capital, which gives even more strength to the neoliberal model of urban development. Following the tradition of critical urban geography, Ciccolella (ibid.) thus uses the term "diffuse city" to refer to this process of physical and functional expansion of cities in Latin America based on a neoliberal model.

This process is also central to Lúcia Leitão (2009), who analyzes the current socio-spatial configuration of Recife, calling attention to the historical continuity of certain power relations, that even today are permeated by asymmetries of colonial times and a model of occupation and urban expansion that privileges the private space. The production of urban space in Brazil generates cities and builds spaces that are clearly hostile and unequal to most of the population (Leitão 2009, p. 1). Nowadays, Recife continues to be produced by this spectrum of relations of power situated only apparently in a historical past. Herein, the notion of public space has constantly been confronted and denied, favoring real estate speculation. Pedro Severien (2018) points out that an emblematic case of this tension generated by the neoliberal urbanization in Recife is the construction of the buildings 'Pier Duarte Coelho' and 'Pier Mauricio de Nassau'—in an area of the historic center (old town) of Recife—that became known in the inventive and popular imagery of the city's inhabitants as "the twin towers". "Nearly everywhere in Recife you can see them and their contrast with the landscape. It is almost a constant reminder that something is wrong with the city. The construction of 'the twin towers' triggered the discussion of what kind of city Recife should be" (Pedrosa 2016, p. 80). These buildings have more than forty decks and were inaugurated in 2009, even after massive pressure and resistance from civil society represented by urban social movements, which claimed that "the twin towers" project had not been accompanied by a neighborhood impact study in addition to being built under a demolition order issued by the Federal Public Ministry in 2007. Even with the order, the real estate company continued the illegal construction, and the presence of these two "totems" today are completely not in harmony with the urban landscape of the surroundings. According to the Brazilian film director and screenwriter, Kleber Mendonça Filho, "the twin towers" are just like "warts" in Recife's historic center, which prevented the neighborhood from being considered a World Heritage Site by the UNESCO.[83] With this case of "the twin towers", the current project of urban transformation that is in progress has only the beginning of broader dynamics that occur according to the logic of neoliberal urbanization in Recife. Hence, the neoliberal urban project really got to know the resistance imposed by urban social movements in the city in 2012, with the movement "#ocupeestelita", which became recognized in the entire country for preventing (even today) the accomplishment of the project "Novo Recife": a real estate consortium planned to build thirteen luxury towers in an originally public space of more

[83] Kleber Mendonça Filho gave a testimony in the documentary "Recife, cidade roubada (Recife, stolen city)" November 18, 2014. This documentary was independently made by local filmmakers engaged in urban social movements; it is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJY1XE2S9Pk.

than twenty-four acres that initially belonged to the federal government. The auction of the area was involved in a series of irregularities; the project neither presented studies of environmental impact nor neighborhood impact, without even mentioning the fact that Recife presents a housing deficit that reaches almost three-hundred-thousand inhabitants.[84] It is in this amalgam of conflicting relationships between the public administration of the city allied to the interests of capital through real estate companies, that I traveled to Recife to get know the "#ocupeestelita" movement and how the people of the city have demonstrated resistance to the neoliberal urbanization processes.

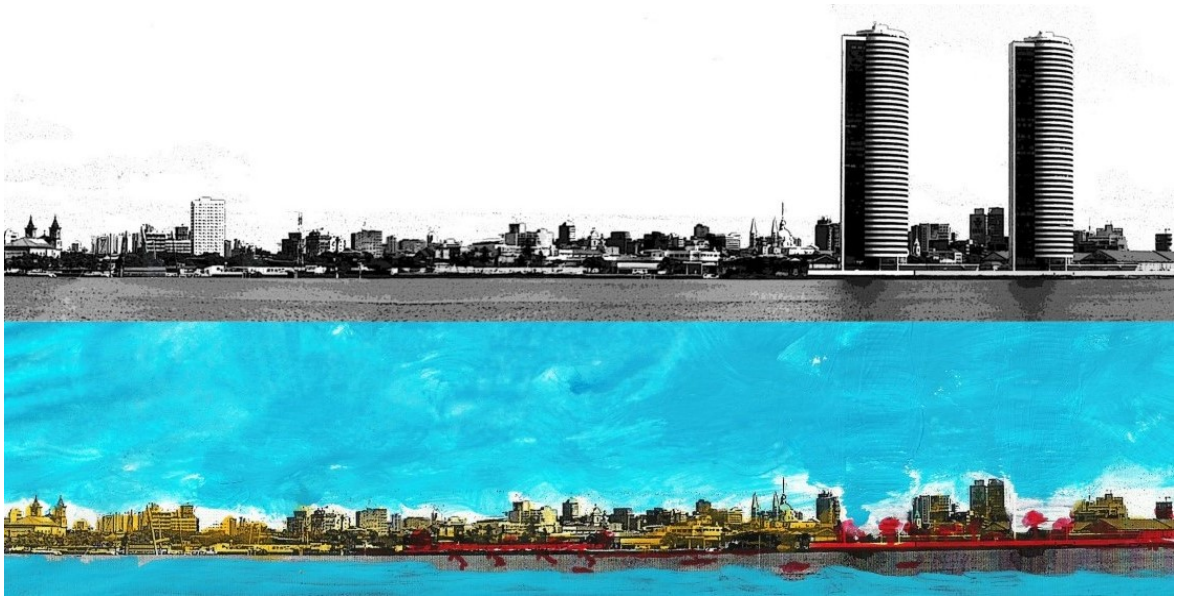

Figure 4: Present and past skyline silhouettes of Recife's historic center's coastline with the striking presence of the "Twin Towers" (the warts). Source and original design: Veras, L.M.S.C. (2014).

5.1. Is Recife a "rebel city"?

In May 2014, the occupation of public land by activists of urban social movements in Recife took national resonance in the academic milieu of Brazilian social sciences, in the social networks, and even in some channels of the hegemonic media. This was the movement #ocupeestelita (occupy Estelita), which in May 2014 had occupied an area of more than twenty-four acres at the José Estelita quay where a consortium of real estate companies intended to build an immense real estate complex of high economic standards named "Novo Recife" (New Recife). The central question of this research is thus focused to the production of urban space of these social movements struggling for the right to the city in Recife in consequence of the great potential for empirical research

[84] There are no official statistics regarding the housing deficit in Recife. However, according to the the consolidated local newspaper "Folha de Pernambuco", sources of the city administration confirm the number of 280 thousand people. https://www.folhape.com.br/noticias/noticias/cotidiano/2017/10/01/NWS,43494,70,449,NOTICIAS,2190-DEFICIT-HABITACIONAL-ATINGE-280-MIL-RECIFENSES.aspx Acessed in June 17, 2018.

through a social-geographic approach. The juxtaposition between the urban struggles of Recife and those of Hamburg—which is a well-known city for its activist vocation with urban social movements since the mid-1990's—would therefore complement the approach of analyzing the process of production of urban space from a global-local perspective.

The José Estelita quay is located in the historic center of Recife in a waterfront area, at the estuary of the Capibaripe, Tejipió, Jordão, and Pina rivers. This area is the result of a land reclamation construction process made in the nineteenth century aiming to connect two military fortifications: "Cinco Pontas" and "Príncipe Guilherme". In 1858, the "Recife-São Francisco" railway was inaugurated at the quay, connecting the interior of the state to the port of Recife, mainly for the outflow of sugar production. Hence, there is the presence of the sugar warehouses on the quayside that are still part of the landscape today. The railroad, however, was deactivated in the 1990's for the transportation of sugar and alcohol production, but it continued to have occasional uses for recreational train rides, being owned by the Federal Railway Network, which is patrimony of the federal government of Brazil.

It is possible to affirm that the José Estelita quay area is also strategic from the urban point of view because it connects the historic center—old trade and commerce centrality—and the southern zone of the city, especially the "Boa Viagem" district, which has one of the highest GDPs of the capital of Pernambuco. In 2008, the quay land was sold through a public auction to a consortium of real estate companies. This business consortium proposed the construction of a luxury enterprise with thirteen towers, most with more than forty floors, divided between commercial establishments and housing of high economic standards in the quay area. This project—as already mentioned—was named "Novo Recife".

According to Severien (2018), when the Novo Recife project came to light, in 2012—through a massive advertising campaign—various sectors of civil society, which were already engaged in the urban planning debate, such NGOs, and social movements, began to discuss the environmental, social, and subjective impacts of this project. Moreover, these movements also pointed to irregularities in the administrative processes that led to both the auction of the land under the Federal Government, and the subsequent approval of the project by the municipal authorities in Recife's city hall. It is possible to affirm that once it became public, the Novo Recife project received immediate opposition, articulated by a social mobilization that fights, among other political guidelines, for the right to the city and for the democratization of urban planning. This project is seen by these mobilization groups as another phase of the contemporary trajectory in which urbanization processes have been determined by private capital through real estate companies. Therefore, social activism regarding urban issues grows and the right to the city gains strength precisely in the face of a neoliberal

shift in the city planning orientation that has been intensified since the 1990's. From then on, the dispute over the destinies of the city space has intensified and the #ocupeestelita movement has been created, arising from a series of actions articulated by civil society along the decade of the 2010's (Severien 2018, p.3).

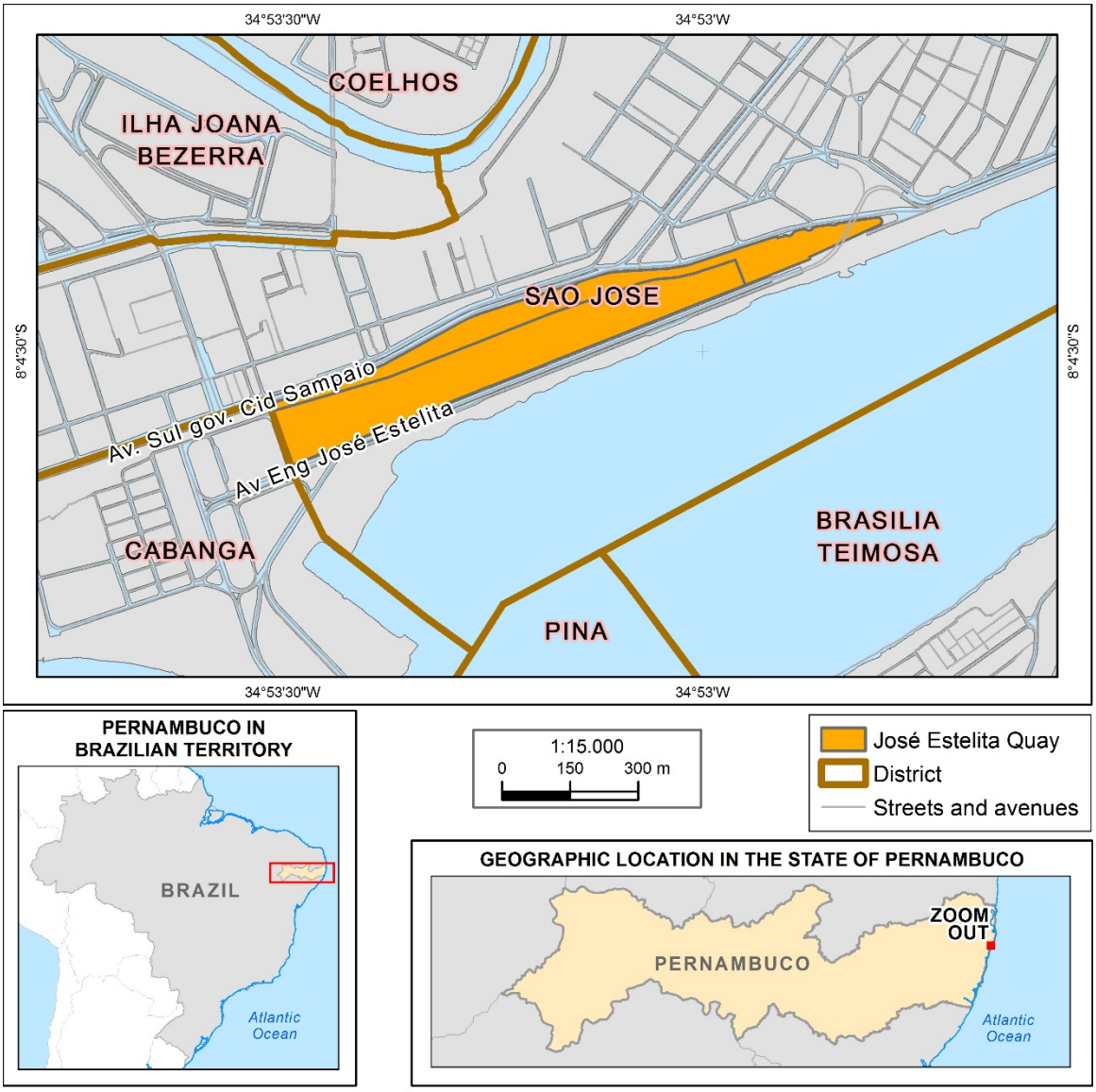

Figure 5: Cartographic scheme of the José Estelita Quay's location. (Concept: Hiram Souza Fernandes, 2018 Elaboration: Ney Lucas dos Reis Ribeiro, 2018)

Severien (2018) also points out that between 2012 and 2014, the #ocupeestelita movement starred in a series of public acts, dialogue circles, academic events and a prolific media production in texts, graphic arts, photos, and videos. However, the great occupation of May 2014—reported by all interviewees during the fieldwork in Recife—deserves to be highlighted, due to the social and subjective impact that was articulated. On the night of May 21th 2014, when the Novo Recife consortium began demolishing the old sugar warehouses on the quay, a group of activists occupied the site, preventing

the buildings from being completely put down. When faced with the action of demolition machines, one of the activists of the group posted on Facebook a call and reported what he was witnessing "in the dead of night". In a few minutes, other activists arrived and entered the site, preventing the machines from continuing work.

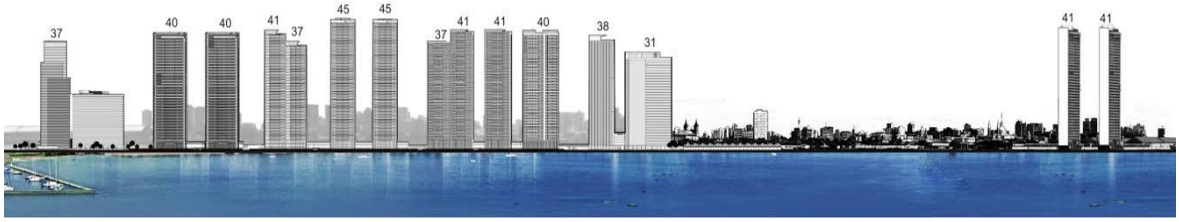

Figure 6: Prospect of the future skyline silhouette of the José Estelita quay area proposed by the Real Estate Consortium that planned the Novo Recife project and the already built "Twin Towers" on the right side. Source and original design: Veras, L.M.S.C. (2014).

Occupation movements, as already discussed, gain visibility because they are articulated as a political and media strategy and constitute a reaction against the capture of urban space for consumption and oppression articulated by social inequality. With the occupation of the José Estelita quay, the struggle for social participation with respect to the uses and destination of the quay area, gains a singular occurrence both in its socio-political configuration and in the way it happens, as well as in the dynamics of encounters and political, social, and cultural production. "If you count the different phases, the occupation lasted only about fifteen days" (Severien 2018), which empirically proves Ziemer's (2013 and 2014) idea of ephemerality as constitutive feature of complicity within urban social movements. The occupation's first phase occurred in the internal area of the quay and then in the outer area, underneath a viaduct. In this occupation a special circuit of cooperation, debate, articulation, and social experimentation in the city was created.

The activists profit from the use of manifests, texts, photos, theatrical performances, design, video, public lessons, live broadcasts, artistic interventions, legal actions, and institutional debate—among other tactics—to mobilize subjectivities and shape the processes of the production of urban space. This in turn, shows the importance of creativity, as stated by Ziemer (ibid.) as an essential feature of relations of complicity. This occupation of the quay was the moment of greater convergence, with a productive contact and "contagion" between different social groups of political expressions for the equal production of the urban space, performing diverse communication and artistic activities. For these reasons, it is plausible to say that Recife is a genuine "rebel city" where the #ocupeestelita movement was a catalyst for several other actors, groups, and social movements to express their wishes and demands in the struggle for the right to city.

5.2. The Actors Towards the right to the city in Recife

My journey in Recife began on December 7th, 2016, when I was invited by Luana[85]—the person with whom I had intermediated all my email contacts about the movement #ocupeestelita—to witness a political act of social collectives engaged about the dynamics related to urban problems in Recife. These were the groups "A cidade somos nós" (We are the city) and "Edifício AIP vive" (AIP Building lives)—that held that night a public exhibition of short films on the sidewalk in front of the entrance of the AIP Building; the public exhibition was intended to call attention to the problem of abandonment of the AIP building and the plans of commercialization/privatization of its five last floors, which belong to the government of the state of Pernambuco. It is, therefore, a public asset/facility.

The history of the AIP began in 1958 with the construction of this modernist building of fourteen floors and a rooftop. The last five floors of the building and the rooftop—in which until 2010 were the headquarters of the Press Association of the State of Pernambuco—were acquired by the state government to host a memorial to preserve the historical and artistic collection of the Pernambuco press. More than seven years later, emptiness and abandonment still fill the corridors and rooms of the building.

On the rooftop, an expensive and elegant luminous sign and a movie theater—open to the public until 2005—are indications of the audacity and avant-garde of the modern architectural project of the 1950's in Recife. The building lived in its heyday between the 1960's and 1980's, with exhibitions of art films in the cinema—which was one of the most luxurious in the city—frequented by the cultural and academic elite of the time. From the 1980's on, neglect and abandon of this building reflect neoliberal urban politics, which with the breakthrough of gated communities and the boom of shopping malls resulted in the deterioration and carelessness of the old historical centers of the big cities in Brazil. Therefore, the historic city-centers of the major Brazilian cities are from the 1990's on, gradually, becoming decadent, inhospitable, dirty, and violent places—especially at night. According to the opinion of the activists of the social movements engaged with the struggles for the restoration of the AIP Building, this scenario of degradation can be transformed as the spaces and public facilities of the historical center of the city return to fulfill their social and cultural functions. In the specific case of the AIP Building, these groups demand that the public administration sector cancel the plans of commercialization of this public asset and assume—through funds destined to the investments in the culture sector—the restoration of the building, the re-inauguration of

[85] All interviewees who participated in this research signed the Consent Form for Research Participation authorizing the use of their true names. I decided, however, to use only the first name, as a way of making the text more informal and subjective, in exactly the way the interviews were conducted.

the cinema, and the opening of the memorial, public library, and historical collection of Pernambuco's press—with free use guaranteed to the entire population.

After arriving at the event venue, I stumbled upon a large projection screen attached to the wall next to the entrance door of the building and several chairs scattered along the sidewalk. Right away, I met Luana, who introduced me to other colleagues and activists of Recife's urban social movements and she explained that the event will be marked by three special occasions: the inauguration of a new luminous sign "Cinema AIP"—much smaller and humbler than the old one; the premiere of the short film "Entre Andares"[86]; and the granting of the symbolic certificate of "historical and cultural heritage of Recife's oldtown", granted by the creators of the "Guia comum do centro de Recife" [87] (Ordinary guide of downtown Recife). The event was scheduled for 6:00 pm, however, it was only around 7:00 pm that the exhibition of short films began. All in all, the films were about the preservation and restoration of historical movie theaters in different places in Brazil.

The Dantas Barreto avenue, where the AIP Building is located, is one of the busiest avenues in the historic center of the city. An intense movement of informal and itinerant commerce on the sidewalks and street traders selling diverse articles—from soft drinks, beer, finger food, to household utensils like pans, and electric shavers—characterize the scene. Trade stores are humble, aimed almost exclusively at the working class. Salespersons from the home appliances or fabrics stores announce their offers through megaphones, and that noise is mixed with the intense flow of pedestrians and the furious cacophony of buses and cars running at high speed on the avenue. Although I have never been there before, the feeling was somehow familiar, like being in the historical center of any other major Brazilian city. The density of poorly maintained buildings, which were mainly constructed between the 1950's and 1980's, the scarce cleanliness of the streets and sidewalks, and the intense traffic of people and cars are, in a certain way, the same. Moreover, one of the most interesting features is the amalgam of smells that invade our olfactory sensations: from pleasant smells such as those from spices, treats, and finger food being prepared on the streets to unpleasant odors, such as urine and sewage.

86 Teaser available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EnGAgLBKXo

87 More about this project will still be approached along this chapter.

Figure 7. Open air premiere of the short film "Entre Andares" in front the AIP Building. (Aline van der Linden. 7th December 2016).

Despite my interest in following the films, I was also seduced to observe how some passers-by reacted to that collective experience in the public space. Many stopped and stared at the projection screen. Others looked for a free seat and watched the movies until the end. Some were approached by members of the movement "Edificio AIP vive" who distributed leaflets, flyers, and stickers and explained the objectives of that event. Some others have expressed deep dissatisfaction at having their paths blocked by a public "movie session" on the sidewalk. Annoyed, they uttered phrases such as "what is this crazy thing?" before they continued their way. The individual and subjective perspective of the production of urban space and construction of everyday regionalizations is thus clearly outlined through this simple empirical testimony. That experience has become very valuable. As soon as the first day of the fieldwork took place, I witnessed a spontaneous and unregistered event in public space, just in the same way it was presented throughout the literature review: occupy to resist.

However, the short film "Entre Andares" was able to catch my attention. It is an independent work of great quality by two Recife filmmakers that exposes the history of the AIP Building and denounces its current situation of abandonment and the neglect of public bodies towards cultural policies in the urban environment. The closing and subsequent abandonment of these so-called old-fashioned movie theaters are pointed out by the activists in Recife as a reflection of neoliberal capitalist development. With the spread of shopping malls, movie theaters are now located within these shopping

complexes, which are almost exclusively to the exhibition of blockbuster's Hollywood film production.

After the screening of the films, the janitor and also one of the last five people who resist abandonment and still live in the building, Dona Lourdes, received from the hands of Bruna—creator of the project/book "Guia comum do centro de Recife"—the certificate of "historical and cultural heritage of Recife's old town" for the AIP Building. Here, the amalgam of the tridimensional relationships between the perceived, conceived and lived space is empirically elucidated. That symbolic and unofficial act was so interesting and emancipating that I found it interesting to contact Bruna, who presented herself during the honors to the AIP Building as a "visual artist and activist of the urban social movements in Recife", to invite her to an interview for this work. Bruna accepted the invitation, but as the construction of this narrative follows a chronological order, I shall return to this matter at an appropriate time.

Before I said goodbye to Luana, we arranged the interview for the next day, in a more reserved and less noisy place, where audio recording could go on without any interruptions or disturbances. I return to the house of the friend who hosted me during my fieldwork days in Recife with a great feeling of satisfaction and joy. It had been very interesting to witness an event in the public space organized by simple and creative people who long for a communitarian, playful, and democratic urban life. It was very clear to me at that moment that the demands of these social movements go far beyond public space and housing. People also yearn for leisure, culture, and art. Through a creative metalinguistic communication, they use art as the communicating agent of these demands.

Interview with Luana

In the afternoon of the following day, I met Luana in a Café in Recife downtown. As previously detailed, the interviews conducted during this research had a narrative character in which the interviewee is encouraged to carry out his/her narrative construction with as few interruptions as possible. Due to this, I did not present a script with fixed questions. Rather, I intended to conduct an interview, like an informal conversation, with the intention, however, of extracting three sets of central information:

1) relations with the urban social movements of Recife;
2) the main motivation and other reasons for social engagement;
3) strategies of action.

I began our conversation/interview with a central question: "What is your relationship/involvement with the #ocupeestelita movement"? Luana then told me that she is a lawyer and since 2012 part of a collective that provides popular legal advice to

social movements and poor communities in relation to issues such as civil rights, public space, and democracy. This collective is the CPDH (Centro Popular de Direitos Humanos – People's Center for Human Rights), which came about through the idea between colleagues of the law school in order to provide real social applicability of the content learned in the university. Luana also mentioned the group "Direitos Urbanos" (Urban Rights). According to her, this is an open Facebook group[88] which was consolidated as a legitimate platform for discussion of Recifes's urban development. This group emerged from the articulation of people interested in politics and concerned about the problems of the city of Recife. From a group of people who knew each other "offline", the group expanded through Facebook and began to turn their demands into effective practical action. Luana mentioned that in early 2012 the group was created as a way to improve the articulation, communication, and the debate among the participants who at that time wanted to formalize a protest against a bill of the city administration that aimed to prohibit the consumption of alcohol in bars and pubs that serve customers at the sidewalk. Furthermore, there was a complementary proposal to limit the opening hours of all bars and pubs in the city as a measure to reduce violence. According to Luana, the group Direitos Urbanos (DU) believed that the project would limit encounters and sociability in the city, creating, therefore, an enclosed city, in which its inhabitants are forbidden to attend an important social space, reinforcing, moreover, some gaps between social classes.

Luana continued her narrative construction reminding that 2012 was the year in which the "Novo Recife" project came to the public through a massive advertising campaign, which generated an immediate reaction from several sectors of civil society, such as the activists of the DU, who are engaged with discussions on urban development. The problem of the auction of the José Estelita quay area to the real estate companies of the consortium "Novo Recife" became, thus, one of the central issues of the group that began to organize the "ocupes" (temporary occupations) in 2012 at least once a month, usually on Sundays, in the outer area of the quay. The reason for the occupation was to draw the population's attention to the problem as well as produce use of the place—even if it is unofficial—while in another dimension of action, activists questioned the legality of the project in various instances of the legal and institutional sphere such as the public prosecution and the federal police. Thanks to the action, inquiry, and persistence of this group, the public prosecution complied with the complaints and proceeded to investigate the irregularities of the project, ranging from a fraudulent auction of the area, as well as the absence of studies of both environmental and neighborhood impact.

---

[88] The page of the group "Direitos Urbanos" has 24,233 likes. https://www.facebook.com/DireitosUrbanos Acessed in June 21, 2018.

The year 2014 is remembered in Luana's narrative as a milestone for the #ocupeestelita movement. She pointed out the night of May 21st of that year, when a member of the group caught an operation of machines and tractors beginning the demolition works of the warehouses of the José Estelita quay and posted this information immediately on the Facebook page of the DU. What happened next was the "historic occupation" of the quay by protesters who attended the call published on the Facebook page. In the interview, Luana pointed to this event as follows:

From then on it was an all-affective process, the "being together". The participation was general [pause] even if some people did not sleep on the quay; they were participating in daily occupations and giving external support. Those were intense fifty days in which other bonds were created, another energy was involved to discuss much wider issues in the sense of appropriation of public space, urban planning, and how the city is planned.[89]

Luana thus summarized her participation as occupant, militant, and legal advisor of #ocupeestelita, CPDH, and DU. When I asked what motivates her to engage in these groups, Luana answered at the tip of her tongue:

What motivates me is the existence of social injustice, the existence of inequality, the existence of something that necessarily needs to change, the existence of people living in situations of social vulnerability. It is my non-identification with the status quo, with a state that segregates and manipulates. Moreover, it is the willingness to use my knowledge, what I have learned to do in a different way... with a practical purpose. It was the desire to take a little of my professional experience out of the university to meet the demands that motivate me. Along the time I realized that the demands related to urban development struggles were the ones I identified with the most, even though I am not one of the most affected because I belong to the middle class. But the city affects people a lot, right? The city causes many things in people.

This answer explicitly shows how the Lefebvrean theory of the production of urban space is based on a powerful insight, as everyday life in the modern world is permeated by tridimensional dialectical relations of spaces that are perceived and lived and also relate in a nonhierarchical and nonlinear manner with spaces that are also conceived.

My next instigation concerns the ways of acting, that is, the strategies of action of the #ocupeestelita. I asked, therefore, if these actions were limited to the lawsuits filed by the movement about the legality of the "Novo Recife" project. Luana explained that the legal and intellectual field was discussed more in the sphere of the DU and CPDH. With regard to #ocupeestelita, however, there was a whole articulation for the accomplishment of artistic events—using the DU platform on Facebook—as a way of drawing attention to their demands. Luana pointed to three main artistic segments that

89 As previously explained, the interviews were conducted in the mother tongue of the interviewees: Portuguese in Recife and German in Hamburg. The reproduction of excerpts from the interviews in English language is a free translation of the researcher. However, all original transcripts of interviews are available under request.

were part of the actions: 1) graphic design; 2) independent film production and; 3) music concerts open to the public. Regarding graphic design, Luana mentioned the existence of a network of about one hundred designers connected to the platform of the DU on Facebook who were available "24 hours a day" to do artwork for the announcement of events, etc.

"Folks, I need an artwork now for the announcement of the event against the decision to the repossession of the quay area". A few minutes later you already received the artwork—ready to publish or print—made by some designer of the group that was available at that time. That was something really remarkable. There were a lot of people indulging and dedicating themselves to the sake of the movement. Wanting to help in some way by making their knowledge available to the group. Sometimes they couldn't be together, in person, with their bodies, but they were virtually there, even when they needed to work in some hegemonic media newspaper or something like that.

The cinematographic production is something that, as I mentioned before, drew my attention from the very first day in Recife. With #ocupeestelita it was no different. In fact, the production of independent videos, however professional, that were later released for free on YouTube, were the main character of this movement. Many of these videos, I even knew before performing the fieldwork in Recife. Luana kindly intermediated the contact with two filmmakers and activists who are part of #ocupeestelita. Due to her helpful mediation, I was able to conduct interviews with these two activists, as I will present later. The dynamics of video production work was basically the same as the production of artwork: cooperative and supportive, making unequivocal the relations of complicity of the group. The intention was to generate visibility for the movement and to demand for social use of the José Estelita quay area through a language rich in information, such as video.

The organization of concerts was another strategy of action mentioned by Luana that according to her is directly related to the success of the actions of the production of videos of the movement. From the moment that the videos became known in the hegemonic media, #ocupeestelita began to have visibility also in the artistic and cultural scene. Hence, prominent artists in the national music scene gave free concerts for the movement #ocupeestelita after the violent land repossession[90] which occurred on June 17th, 2014, after a favorable court order for the Novo Recife project. The concerts of important and acclaimed artists of the music scene in Recife, such as Karina Buhr[91], Otto[92], and Criolo[93], took place in July 2014 in different public squares of the city.

---

90 An interesting video made by the filmmakers of the #oupeestelita movement denounces the violent and repressive action of the military police of Pernambuco in favor of the interests of real estate companies allied to the government of the state and the municipality. https://youtu.be/VDBqQUbvzC0

91 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUCPNqVs6d4

92 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOUiRuxSPwc

93 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQ8xl_BGSWQ

To close the conversation, I asked about Luana's prospects in relation to #ocupeestelita and the urban development of Recife in a general way. To my surprise, after showing so much enthusiasm and engagement, Luana expressed pessimism about the city of Recife and the movement #ocupeestelita. "*We believe that we could not prevent the implementation of the Novo Recife project"*. However, Luana did not believe that the efforts were in vain since the greatest victory was to ignite the population to the flame of the importance of the debate on the city, on urban planning, and development—making the city be discussed, occupied. According to Luana, many of the guidelines of the movement—such as urban gardens and carless streets—were even appropriated by the discourse of the municipal administration and the state government to create legitimacy in relation to the city. As I realized, the main victory—independent of what happens to the area of the José Estelita quay—is the fact that the movement gave voice to many other struggles of the city, which were inspired by #ocupeestelita, as I was able to witness in the previous day with the event of the AIP Building and other groups and social collectives as I witnessed in the subsequent days of the fieldwork in Recife.

Interview with Bruna

A few days later, I met Bruna, who I got to know on the day of the public act in defense of the AIP Building. Our meeting was in a café in the surroundings of the Federal University of Pernambuco in a popular and quiet neighborhood, twelve kilometers far from the city center. While waiting for Bruna's arrival, I ordered a cappuccino. This cappuccino was the sweetest cappuccino I have ever had in my entire life. It was so sweet that it was almost impossible to drink it, and the most intriguing component of this sweet moment is that besides being already sweetened, the waiter still brought me extra sugar packets! At that moment, Bruna arrived and explained that due to the abundance of sugar-cane production—which has generated many riches and was the basis of Pernambuco's economy since the sixteenth century—the palate of most people in the state is accustomed to extremely sweet beverages and foods, which would explain, according to her, the high obesity rates in Pernambuco. "*In fact, this is a general characteristic of underdeveloped countries, right? A characteristic of Brazil, where multinational food industries produce low-quality foods with high fat and sugar levels*"—as pointed Bruna. However, this would be an interesting topic for another social-geographic, sociological, or public health research.

Regarding urban social movements in Recife, Bruna began her narrative construction telling that her relationship with them is due to the mobilization of the #ocupeestelita and her personal interest in art. Bruna is a visual artist and Professor of Arts at the Federal University of Pernambuco, and pointed out the events related to the José Estelita quay area as being—mutually—the cause, the laboratory, and the product of the project that I got to know at the AIP Building event: "Guia Comum do Centro do Recife". This guide is a free of charge artistic publication produced from a

collaborative unfolding of the project "archeology of the present", idealized by herself. It is the result of a year of research focused on the process of transformation of the urban landscape in Recife. In the guide, about forty places and situations of resistance to the neoliberal urban development in the historic center of the city are mapped and portrayed, from the point of view of illustrators, writers, filmmakers, moviegoers, residents, salespersons, merchants, urbanists, musicians, or simply flaneurs. Bruna commented:

The spaces and places in the city center are spaces of resistance, although there is a current intense trend of gentrification. So they are places in which we can witness some kind of autonomy within a context of top-down modernization. Modernization in a very negative sense, right? In an elitist and separatist way... It is like a tourist guide, but rather than portraying the places through the view business or profit, it seeks places of affective and historical content, from the point of view of the people who live in these places or wander through them.

Based on the already discussed premise that every space is subjective—therefore produced and constructed—since it was submitted to lines imagined by man, the concept behind the "Guia Comum do Centro de Recife" also comprehend space as incomplete, insufficient, being constantly perceived, conceived, and lived through human action. This project, through a unique poetic sensibility, as well as the Lefebvrean dialectic—described as the radical critic of Hegel based on the social practice of Marx and the art of Nietzsche—seeks to bring people closer to this concept, giving them the consciousness that spaces and their affective memories are also produced and constructed through their own actions in the present moment. This is what happened with the occupation of the José Estelita quay, where Bruna could experience the space, hold art workshops for/with her comrades and accomplices of the occupation, and transform the #ocupeestelita into one of the "attractions" of her guide. She explained:

By mapping some "ruins" in the city center, we have the idyllic pretension of proposing a re-enchantment between this space and the people who use it, cohabit, or only pass by.

Regarding her motivation and inspirations, Bruna follows, in a certain way, the essence of Luana's answer, which is to some extent to contribute with her professional knowledge to the social demands that she believes are necessary for the pursuit of a more humane and equitable life in urban environments. Bruna believes that the city cannot be reflected and projected only by a governmental instance or by the economic power. She believes that we are all responsible, and therefore, required to think about our relationships with the spaces where we live, and so she mentions concepts of urban self-management and self-organization—which she defines as the *"empowerment for making decisions about how we will use and build the city we want."* As an artist, Bruna believes in the potential of art and culture as a dimension with the power to call attention to these issues and to create a spotlight so that it can be explored in a more poetic and playful, more absorbable and funnier way for all.

Bruna continued the topic about art and told me that the "Guia Comum do Centro do Recife" will expand to a digital platform through a smartphone application. These new digital platforms are, for her, a powerful tool of co-participation and self-design of the city for social movements, and she mentioned the case that was known as the trigger for the effective occupation of the quay José Estelita—when the demolition of the warehouses was reported, and the call for occupation disseminated via Facebook post. The smartphone application—which will be available for free—will follow this concept of allowing and encouraging mediation, as anyone can suggest specific places, practices, and spatial situations and send photographs, texts, and other information. It is an application that will be further advanced by its own users. Bruna further commented on the app in saying:

Anyone can make a guide. Anyone can appropriate spaces... In fact, each person has their own city guide in their imagery, in their affective memory, in their mental maps... and digital networks and platforms have the potential to share these forms of knowledge.

When I asked about future perspectives, Bruna mentioned the fact that the current social, economic, and especially, political scenario in Brazil is unfavorable and discouraging for urban social activism. She identified a certain discouragement, a certain physical and emotional weariness that can result in a generalized pessimism. However, as an artist and activist, Bruna considers this to be normal dynamics of social movements, which according to her are changeable and need to be so. Transience, transformation, impermanence, and fluidity are therefore, fundamental characteristics of urban social movements in Recife, which gives basis to the idea of complicity in the relationships in these groups and urban collectives. As Bruna puts it:

The weariness is a natural phenomenon. Some will get drained, but that's when the others will come, bringing new energy, new ideas. [...] this is more like a roller coaster movement: those who get tired will give way to those who arrive with new energy. We need to have hope, after all, I do not think of such a tragic future scenario. Supporting occupations and reflecting on the urban space... all these dynamics will grow and continue to exist.

Bruna ended her story by bringing up a topic that caught my attention and with which I wanted to delve a bit further through the following interviews: the fact that the poor and most vulnerable population, and therefore, the most affected people by the oppression imposed by neoliberal urban policies, does not adhere with such enthusiasm to these movements, such as the #ocupeestelita. Bruna recognized that most of the members of groups and movements such as #ocupeestelita, DU, as well as other contemporary struggles of the city, are mainly constituted by the middle class and an academic and cultural milieu. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the middle and intellectual classes are mostly composed of white people, reflecting the ethnic-social and historical composition of Brazilian society, marked by European colonialism, slavery of various peoples brought from Africa, and extermination of the original indigenous

population of the American continent. Bruna recalled that, unfortunately, for the population of the poorest neighborhoods of the city—or even for homeless people who already occupied the quay area long before the existence of the movement #ocupeestelita—the conscience and the struggle for a decent urban life is not the urgent agenda in their lives. Rather, as Bruna pointed out over the last sips of the over-sweet cappuccino:

Their agenda is to buy food and not die of hunger [...] their resistance is for survival; our resistance is for conscience. [...] But all this is a learning process, which involves affective and cultural aspects. And it is precisely because there is so much injustice, that we cannot stop fighting. That's why I believe in the power of art. Art as a tool to deal with these social issues and to design a more democratic, more humane city.

This topic became recurrent in the three interviews that I did in my last days of fieldwork in Recife; I will describe them next.

Interviews with Ernesto and Pedro

On the night of December 17th, 2016, I went to the city of Olinda, a three-hundred-thousand inhabitants city in the metropolitan area of Recife, less than ten kilometers away from the capital's downtown. I went there to meet Ernesto and Pedro; they are two filmmakers and activists from the #ocupeestelita movement who were now active in another movement: the occupation of Cine Olinda (#ocupeCineOlinda). Cine Olinda is a movie theater, which belongs to the municipality of Olinda. It is a 105 years old building which has spent almost fifty-one years behind closed doors (since 1965). Inspired by the occupation movements that have spread throughout the world since the decade of 2010 and mainly by the actions undertaken by the movement #ocupeestelita since 2012 in Recife, activists from Olinda and Recife occupied on September 30th 2016 this historic building—which was abandoned by the municipal administration—to demand the reactivation of this public asset for culture and leisure to the whole city population. The activists realized repairs in the hydraulic and electric installations of the cinema with their own resources. Additionally, from the first day of the occupation, the activists are holding events like the exhibition of films, debates, and workshops, thus giving, a community and social purpose to a space that has been idle for more than five decades. According to the demonstrators I met that day, from the first day of occupation to the present date, one hundred and ten films have been screened, some in very crowded sessions, chosen by a participatory and popular programming curatorship. The evening that I attended, besides witnessing an assembly of the movement *in loco*, I was also able

to follow the free public exhibition of two films produced by the filmmakers and activists, Ernesto and Pedro[94].

After arriving in the Cine Olinda, I witnessed a little of the assembly that was being held in one of the side corridors of the building. The atmosphere was completely informal, where the participants discussed the future actions of the movement seated on the floor or on mattresses brought to the occupation. The proposal of that meeting was to prepare a public repudiation note to the city hall of Olinda, which had published an order of eviction and evacuation of the dependencies of the Cine Olinda. At once it was possible to realize that there was no defined leadership. Rather, the movement is dynamized through an organization based on horizontal communication, where the rights of speech are respected and granted to all. The repudiation note was posted on the Facebook page of the movement as soon as the meeting was concluded. Then the activists headed to the outside of the cinema, a public square with access to the beach, where the projection screen was fixed to the wall of the building. Cushions, towels, and chairs were also scattered around the square so that people could sit and watch the movies. Slowly, people arrived at the event. They were residents of Olinda, people of diverse age groups, many children, adolescents, and the elderly. It was a night of warm but nice weather, a typical Brazilian summer where the sky is clear and there is an atmosphere of peace, tranquility, and simplicity—where art and sociability are present in the public space.

Following the exhibition of an interesting short-film produced by Ernesto, I conducted the interview with him inside the cinema. Ernesto told me that the public exhibitions organized by the movement were always being held until the previous week inside the cinema, with people sitting on the floor. However, he also informed that the fire brigade issued a technical report stating that there were no safety conditions for holding events in the building due to the lack of security basic standards, such as the need for an emergency exit. The movement understood that peaceful dialogue with administrative institutions was the best way forward, and therefore, in order to not endanger the lives of people at risk, they decided to abide the decision and began to organize the public movie sessions—without, however, giving up of the occupation—in the external area, which as mentioned before, is also a public space.

[94] The interviews with Ernesto and Pedro were carried out separately but will be presented here together in a way of give fluidity to the narrative construction of the thesis. Ernesto was interviewed the night of the event at the Cine Olinda and Pedro received me at his apartment two days later, on the afternoon of December 19th, 2016.

Figure 8: One of the many public movie sessions held by the #ocupeCineOlinda movement still inside of the building. (Movimento Ocupe Cine Olinda – 17th November 2016).

Ernesto believes that his involvement with occupation urban social movements in Recife is due to a chain of action and reaction of society to an increasingly unequal, closed, and privatized urban environment. For him, this is even more pronounced in Recife, where *"skyscrapers are willy-nilly erected, asphyxiating popular neighborhoods and the poorest people",* and thus amplifying a system of organization of society that is unequal by its very nature. Ernesto considers that these movements of occupation represent the new social movements of the twenty-first century in which there is a questioning of the practices of what he calls the "old political left". For him, the traditional left sins by postponing its guidelines for a future action plan. The new social movements, on the other hand, create spaces of resistance to call attention to specific problems, creating uses for those places in the present moment. At the same time that they make demands on the state administration and protest against the marketing logic of economic power, these movements already propose solutions and put them into practice. *It is the creation of instantaneous, immediate coexistence. [pause] It's the creation of some kind of micro utopia that can change our lives and give us hope for better days.* —as Ernesto pointed it.

For Pedro, his involvement is due to the fact that he has a personal and familiar formation that places him and his visions of the world in the field of the political left, or the progressive agenda. He believes that "things" need to be mediated for a common purpose with the goal of trying to broaden and strengthen concepts such as equality and opportunities for all, as well as better income distribution. His activism began mainly with the occupation of the Jose Estelita quay and his dissatisfaction concerning the scarcity of public spaces in the city and the need to reflect on the possibilities of building a more democratic, open, and horizontal city. Pedro sees in film production a powerful

tool of construction of narratives for the social mobilization and of a new political action that takes place aligned with the field of the culture. In this context, the use of the film production tools and the digital platforms for video sharing, such as YouTube or Vimeo, is a powerful aid for social movements in the contemporary world. As Pedro puts it:

We are dealing with a dispute in the field of subjectivities, right? A dispute over the construction of narratives, in the way that we "read" the world. So I think that art and audiovisual production is essential in this sense: of people disputing these narratives. Because the capital uses its power to present itself today in this mediatic dimension as a central force. The capital associates itself with all these forms of control, of income concentration, and exploitation with these mechanisms of narrative production. Do you understand? So, in my opinion, art has this role of impacting on subjectivities, as we produce our narratives to counteract the narratives imposed by the hegemonic power.

Pedro and Ernesto have met each other during the demonstrations of #ocupeestelita, even before the definitive physical occupation of May 2014. From the common interest of using the film production tool for the construction of narratives and the search for visibility of the movement, they started to establish a partnership in the production of short-films through the provision of their knowledge to the benefit of the group. One of their most significant production—"Recife, cidade roubada" (Recife, stolen city)[95]—counts on the voluntary participation of the nationally-known and awarded actor, Irandhir do Santos. This participation, as well as the high quality of production, contributed to the movement gaining prominence in national mass media.[96] In the construction of the #ocupeCineOlinda movement, the two worked together again and produced a video[97] to generate visibility for the agendas of the movement and to the construction of a new narrative from the perception of these movements.

At the time of the interview, the two were more active in the #ocupeCineOlinda struggles and believed that #ocupeestelita has "cooled down" and was in "standby" modus, although both affirmed that the struggles of the quay were not yet finished. This proves, however, the character of fluidity and alternation of the contemporary social movements that I could verify through my observations and the interpretation of the information provided by almost all interviewees. Regarding this aspect, Ernesto made the following statement:

#ocupeCineOlinda is an instant response to a real demand in the present moment. This response is linked to a network that has its origins there, in the #ocupeestelita, but is here now, where new people knew each other. [pause] A very interesting feature of this occupation is that these people you saw together

---

95 Available with English subtitles at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJY1XE2S9Pk

96 See https://cinema.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2014/11/25/documentario-com-irandhir-e-criolo-foca-tentativa-de-salvar-cais-no-recife.htm and https://www.revistaforum.com.br/cineastas-pernambucanos-apoiam-movimento-ocupe-estelita/

97 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IXX90cGJk14

earlier in the assembly did not know each other before; they were not friends. And that's one of the characteristics of these occupations... [pause]... you get to know new people. You suddenly connect with those people who are now willing to do something with what's going on here. And it was the same in the José Estelita quay; people who did not know each other, had never met, they all attended to the same call that "viralized" through Facebook.

Figure 9: Occupation of the area in the José Estelita quay. #ocupeestelita movement. (Film frame of "Recife, cidade roubada". Available at: https://youtu.be/dJY1XE2S9Pk)

With this short statement, Ernesto expressed the fundamental characteristics of urban social movements in the contemporary digital age: the fluidity and ephemerality of the relations of complicity and the formation of networks of movements of outrage and hope through digital social networks as a foundation for their main strategy: the occupation of real/physical, urban public spaces.

Pedro also addressed another very interesting aspect that deserves attention: the question regarding the discourse of violence, the exaggerated use of private cars, and the seclusion of society through the new ways of living, such as gated communities. For Pedro, these are the main features of the urbanization process defined by market logic, which restricts sociability, and therefore, the true ideals of urbanity. To talk about this subject, Pedro referred to his experience of personal life:

Until my adolescence, I lived in a very large isolation. Since I came from a familiar background of a so-called privileged and intellectual middle class, I was always very "protected" and had little contact with the "outside world". I could not get public transport, for example, to go to school. I was always taken by a private driver. In the environment I lived, there was a paranoia about security, the reproduction of a discourse of violence and that led people to have more and more security devices, such as alarms, guards, fences, and so on. […] It is only from my university entrance and with my pursuit for autonomy and

emancipation that I seek a political action that is my own. It is at this moment that I experienced the city in another way for the first time. [...] This moment was for me a beginning of a slightly greater immersion in the public space, understanding that these spaces are an object of dispute... [pause] ...a field that needs to be constructed through practical action, in the experiences of everyday life, and not only in speech, you know? […] the #ocupeestelita was a very intense practice of the city, with everything that the city has to offer today, from potentialities to problems. At the time of the occupations from the #ocupeestelita I decided to sell my car, and since then, I started to get around in the city in other ways: with public transportation or taxi when it is too late at night and there are no more buses.

At that moment, I decided to bring the subject of the economic, ethnic, and social composition of Recife's urban social movements by questioning the reasons why the poor, peripheral, and mostly black population, feels somehow not invited or encouraged to join these groups. Like Bruna, Pedro also believes that it is a real fact that these new social movements are articulated and developed with the force of some sectors of the middle and intellectual class that seeks to "burst the bubble" of market logic, which is fighting for another type of urban experience, especially with regard to the democratization of the public sphere. At that moment Pedro made a pertinent and, in my opinion, enlightening consideration:

This dynamic does not disqualify and delegitimize, in any way, the movement! In a society historically unequal as Brazilian society, these movements are precisely looking for points of contact between these diversities. They are looking for a way to mix people, to include the differences in urban public life, you see? But since there is a historical context of social exclusion and racial segregation in Brazil, this is not something that will happen overnight. This is a construction, a process.

Ernesto even believes that this diversity has already been happening in the occupation movement of the Cine Olinda. He mentioned that many members of the movement are part of black youth from the popular neighborhoods of Olinda, which collaborate with the constructions and decisions of the movements in a horizontal and egalitarian way.

We are not like political parties that seek to mobilize peripheral neighborhoods just to get votes. We build the movement together with the people. We are interested in building with our people our spaces of resistance, which are spaces of horizontal political construction and experience of other types of relations. This is our way of doing politics.

Finally, Pedro mentioned another aspect that is also very relevant, which is the fact that there is an attempt to co-opt and seduce—as a form of manipulation—the residents of peripheral neighborhoods through the use of dishonest and unscrupulous strategies. It is at this moment that he told me about the neighborhood "Coque", which I had not heard of until that moment. *Coque* is a low-income neighborhood in Recife, about 2.5 kilometers from the downtown of the city. With the disordered urban growth, it was configured as a slum with a population of about forty thousand inhabitants. The neighborhood of Coque, besides being stigmatized as one of the most violent

neighborhoods in Recife, presents several problems of health, education, unemployment, housing, and sanitation. According to Pedro, with the urban growth of the city towards the south, which is the richest part of the city, Coque becomes a kind of "unwanted neighbor" for the rich elite of the south zone, due to its geographical location between the south and the city downtown. Moreover, Coque is located in the surroundings of the area of José Estelita quay, and therefore, is since the launch of the project "Novo Recife", suffering pressure from various dynamics of gentrification and speculation. With the unfolding of judicial battles since 2012 between the social movements—represented by #ocupeestelita—and the real estate companies in alliance with the public administration, the real estate companies tried to co-opt Coque to manipulate public opinion by announcing that the "New Recife" project would generate employment for the population of the neighborhood,; therefore, they wanted the project to become real. In fact, as affirmed by Pedro, in one of the public hearings, the "New Recife" project hired bus companies to bring Coque residents to the audience so that they could express their "support" for the real estate project in exchange for a small amount of "beer money". As Pedro put it:

We had even made a short movie called "Audiência Pública?"[98] *(Public Hearing?), in which we could unmask this superficial and manipulative image [pause] is very nefarious, man.*

Despite this wicked and unfair scenario imposed by the power of capital and its various shady strategies, both Pedro and Ernesto remain optimistic about the future of these urban social movements and the power of accomplishment of its guidelines. For Ernesto, the Brazilian population is somewhat passive, due to its history of exploration and so they are still somehow "anesthetized". Ernesto believes, however, that when people understand what is happening, given the level of the perversity of governments and market logic, they will react furiously: *this is the moment that I think movements of occupation like #ocupeestelita and #ocupeCineOlinda will become models for the construction of new forms of political communities, which goes far beyond political parties and voting.*

Pedro mentions the "conservative wave" and "institutional regression" as factors that could weaken the movement. However, according to him, this is yet another reason for him to remain in action. And he concluded with the following manifesto:

I've never felt like being paralyzed, you know? I have been feeling more and more the will to act. And I think that it is through action that we find solutions, right? Of course, it is necessary to think too. It is necessary to build and produce current political thought so we can deal with contemporaneity. But this political thought must be grounded in action, in practice. […] The learning of this process is to think on the utopia of the present moment, in the "now". To act in the "now".

98 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfOzcjSETYs

Interview with Chico

My last interviewee in Recife was Chico. Both Ernesto and Pedro intermediated the contact with Chico. He is a well-known activist in the network of urban social movements in Recife for circulating and actively participating in several of these movements in the city, such as #ocupeestelita and #ocupeCineOlinda. Chico is a journalist by profession, but he also acts as a visual artist. Additionally, like previous interviewees, he seeks to align his knowledge and professional practice with social activism and the desire to fight for a more democratic urban space. Moreover, Chico is a resident of the Coque, being also active in the social movements of the neighborhood in the fight for civil rights and in the fight for housing. All these reasons led me to Chico, believing that the perspective of an activist who lives in a suburban neighborhood would further enrich my research.

Chico told me that during his graduate school studies in journalism and from the recognition of a very strong negative stigmatization of the Coque in the media, he began to create—along with college colleagues—the group "Coque Vive" (Coque lives). Due to the fact that Coque is always reported in the media as *"a place to be avoided", "Recife's most violent neighborhood", "a place associated with poverty"*, the objective of the Coque Vive group—which first emerges as a university outreach program—is to break the boundaries and barriers between the academic dimension and the peripheral environment from the proposal of encounters and non-unilateral relations. The Coque Vive group's objectives are, among others, to change the negative image of the neighborhood in the media, build a network of social promotion from the socio-cultural actors and institutions that already work in the neighborhood, and encourage research actions, debates, workshops, cultural circuits, and content production, in order to make the dream of a democratic and equitable city for the residents come true.

Chico told me that the group has already achieved good results in its social, cultural, and educational actions; for example, in 2013 the group helped to avoid residents, who received letters of expropriation, from having their houses demolished due to a road work for the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Coque became, thus, an undesired area for the top-down urbanism of state power and financial capital, as it is located near Recife downtown and also near the beaches of the south of the city, in the elite neighborhood called Boa Viagem. However, due to a joint and networked action of various groups and social movements, such as the DU (Direitos Urbanos - Urban Rights), the CPDH (Centro Popular de Direitos Humanos – People's Center for Human Rights), and the resistance of Coque dwellers, the government ended giving up the works that would result in the removal of Coque residents that would lose their homes and receive no fair compensation.

Faced with this power generated by the network led by Coque Vive and the imminence of gentrification processes that would affect Coque through the construction

of the "Novo Recife" project at the José Estelita quay, Chico is instigated to participate and contribute to the #ocupeestelita movement.

My engagement was to contribute to the construction of new narratives, through art, poetry, subjectivity, and film production. [pause] Thus, #ocupeestelita became a source of dreams and wishes for a more democratic city [pause] many people who passed by became "contaminated" by this desire and understood that it was a kind of utopia of the present moment as well. A chance to experience relationships at the moment. It was not a future dream. It was an active construction in the present.

Chico mentioned that Coque residents desire that the José Estelita quay area should become an area of social interest. Whether through the construction of popular housing or the construction of a public park, providing, therefore, opportunities for leisure and sociability for residents of the surroundings that go beyond the marketing and consumption logic of shopping malls. For Chico, the actions of the movement #ocupeestelita—as a continuous process of construction/production of space—already provided the accomplishment of these aspirations. He mentioned the concept "magnetized space", which was developed by the Brazilian visual artist Lygia Pape, to describe the geographical constructions developed and created in that space.

From an empty, abandoned, and forgotten space, the José Estelita quay came to life because of the movement #ocupeestelita. I see that space as a "magnetized space," a space that has become fertile and which gave us—Coque dwellers—hope towards a more egalitarian life. We could participate there, we could meet with heterogeneity and be heard. That was a space where very complex topics of our society, such as social inequality, racism, sexism, and homophobia were being discussed and solved there in a kind of participatory and horizontal democracy.

Chico told me that his engagement in the movement happened not only in the physical occupation of the space but also through artistic contribution. He made an artistic intervention with a photographic exhibition in the public space and the realization of art workshops. Moreover, Chico contributed to the audiovisual production of films of the movement. He mentioned, for example, the music video for the local rock band "China,"[99] which composed a song specially to support the movement. The music video images were produced cooperatively and provided by the filmmakers of the #ocupeestelita movement, among them Chico, Pedro, and Ernesto, and the band, correspondingly, released the song for free only on the platform for video sharing YouTube. This video also sums up my final perception of these movements in Recife: the desire for urban community life—with art, music, dance, and poetry—in opposition to the violent forces of the state apparatus allied to the power of the Market and of capital.

To conclude, I asked Chico about his prospects, and like the other interviewees, the contemporary paradox and conflict at the global and national scales, marked by political

[99] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_DEREQNgnk

and economic crises, contrasts with the hope lived within the social movements and their practical actions and lived experiences. Chico pointed this out as follows:

While the national context outlines a huge backlash, through which the population is losing its democratic rights that were conquered with so much sweat and so much struggle, we witness, on the other hand, the growth of these movements of occupation and autonomous social movements that provide active and continuous political construction. These movements represent the possibility of transformation of the present moment. [pause] If we are protesting, occupying and demanding an open public space and with options of culture and leisure, we go there and do it in an open and democratic public space with culture and leisure options. If we want a public cinema for the population, we go there and make a public and open cinema. [pause] It is a mixture of disillusionment for what comes from outside, but of rebirth for what springs from within the occupations.

With these words, I left Recife inspired by the hope that emanated from the struggles and aspirations of these people I met in the capital of Pernambuco and with the certainty that the social sciences and the academic world must direct their efforts even more to the practical action experienced by real people in the real world.

5.3. Theoretical analysis and empirical evidences of Recife's rebelliousness

As previously presented and discussed, the evaluation of empirical data within this research was performed according to the "theoretical coding", which is a research tool originally proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) with their grounded theory. After the transcript of interviews, all this material produced in form of text was explored according to the guidelines to the implementation of the subsequent forms of coding, which were already thoroughly described: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The result of the whole coding is a list of concepts and an explanatory text. The first step of the coding process will be presented below individually and separately for each of the interviewees. The following steps, however, which corresponds to the axial and selective coding, refers, obviously, to the presentation of the categories resulting from the previous surveyed concepts and the elaboration of an intertwining substantive theory in relation to the empirical data of all interviewees in Recife.

Luana

Lawyer
Civil rights
Public space
Democracy
Right to the city
Right to housing
Real estate speculation
#ocupeestelita
Occupation
Emotional process
Being together
New spaces of activism
Urban planning
Appropriation
Social injustice (inequality)
Structure of the city
Manipulative State
Hegemonic State
Volunteer work
Facebook
Audio-Video Media
Web Design
YouTube
Community work
Advertisement language
Local problems
Professional knowledge
Political strategies
Arts (Culture)
Legal strategy
Public prosecution
Social commitment
Discuss the city
Occupy the city
Urban mobility
Traffic flow
Urban gardening

Bruna

Culture
Filmmakers
Art language
#ocupeestelita
Collaborative book
Places of resistance
Gentrification
Elitist modernization
Emotional landscape
Historic center
Everyday livingness
Self-management
Public space
Right to the city
Appropriation of the public space
Political transformation
Commercial transformation of the city
Occupation
Public lectures
Art in public space
Film exhibition
Environmental art
Design production
Visual identity
Collaborative and voluntary work
Audiovisual work
Resistance
Economic crisis
Political scenario
Emotional and physical weariness
Changeable social groups
General weariness
Hope
Struggle to survival
Struggle for conscience
Middle class
Power of art
Compassionate aspects

Pedro

Cinema

Audiovisual production

Activism

Public space

Democratic / horizontal city

#ocupeestelita

#ocupecineolinda

Cultural asset

Historical building

Physical occupation

Political instrument

Real estate speculation

Movie sessions

Left wing politics

Equality

Middle class

Isolation

Burst the bubble

Periphery / slums

Building narratives

Documentary film

Public policies for culture

Social inclusion

Political action

Subjective dimension

Dispute of subjectivities

Media dimension

Income concentration

Maintenance of the capital

Social construction

Subjectivities pointing to the future

Experience the city

Security paranoia

Violence discourse

Praxis vs. discourse

Praxis construction

Social bonds

Place for encounter of heterogeneities

Academic milieu

Another experience in the public space

Unequal Brazilian society

Contact points

Dialogue possibility

Black youth

Active peripheral subjects

Legal action

Autonomous democracy construction

State violence

Police repression

Extermination of the black youth

Coque neighborhood

Periphery

Area of interest to financial capital

Forced eviction

Confluence of the state with the private capital

Novo Recife project

Nefarious strategies of cooptation

Social media

Network of designers

Strategy of communication

Network articulation

Facebook / YouTube

Autonomous video production

Fight for housing

University outreach program

Flat hierarchy

Conservative wave

Institutional setback

Global macro-politics

Local action

Will to act

Construction of current political thought

Political thought based on action / praxis

Occupation movements

Adaptation of the forms of resistance

Utopia of the present moment

Act in the "now"

Being open to change

Micropolitics

Change local democratic structures

Symbolic construction

Power to generate action in other fronts

"Estelita" effect

Ernesto

Fascist turnabout

Fascism in the digital age

Culture environment

Intellectuality

Society's direct action and reaction

Unequal urban environment

Luxurious buildings

Places of resistance

"Just now" use of these places

Traditional left wing

Contemporary occupation movements

Do something now

Instantaneous places of experience

Micro utopia

Interpersonal relationships

#ocupeestelita

Real estate speculation

New forms of political action

New networks

Encounters of people (not necessarily friends)

Diversity of people

Horizontal organization

Collective decision

Audiovisual production

Privatization of the city

"Urban asphyxia"

Atomization of life

Impossibility of heterogeneous experiences

Construction of a more interesting world

Utopia of the present moment

Political art

Negotiation of subjectivities

Rethink our place in the world

Cultural production

Music

Visual art

Exposure

Suburban neighborhood

Poor communities

Black women

Points of encounters

Social media are a problem/parasite

Facebook

Parasite of our community experience

Facebook algorithm

Only a tool of communication

Positive/optimist prospects

People are getting together

Chico

Journalist

Visual artist

Coque neighborhood

Contemporary urban social movements

Right to housing

Right to the city

Place to be avoided

Poverty

Violence

Break down barriers

University

Dissolve barriers

Belonging

Media representation

Criminalization of poverty

#ocupeestelita

Real estate speculation

Families were evicted

FIFA World cup construction works

Right to choose where to live

Poor people

Central neighborhood

Legal protection

Discussing the uses of the city

Construction of a discourse / narrative

Walls between academic world and activism

Traffic of the city

Gentrification

Audiovisual production

Unequal urbanization process

Elitist city

Novo Recife project

Environmental impact

Neighborhood impact

Apartheid between poor and rich

Dreams of an egalitarian city

Utopia of the present moment

#ocupecineolinda

Participatory democracy

Break free from inertia

Encounters that generate transformation

No leadership

Horizontal organization

Make things together

Physical closeness

Community life

Horizontal relations

Facebook / YouTube

Art and Politics

Subjectivities

Powerful way of transformation

City as an extension of the human body

Human body as a reflection of the city

Anonymity

Autonomy / Fluidity

Architecture of fear

Architecture of sadness

Nefarious cooptation

Market interests

National political context

Step backwards

Losing basic rights

Local context

Occupation movements

Active and continuous political life

Possibility of transformation in the present

Disillusionment from the outside

Rebirth from the inside

General categories (axial coding)

The purpose of the axial coding is the fine-tuning of the empirically raised data presented above through this list of general concepts. Then, the status of "categories" is given to these concepts. As already mentioned, categories become the center of the empirical analysis, through which an arrangement of causal relationships is built around it. This web of relations between axial categories and their related concepts is thus later used to propose substantive theories.

After a thorough analysis of the concept's list, two main/substantial concepts—which are themselves self-determining categories too—could be inferred and highlighted: "contemporary urban social movements" and "right to the city". It is not by chance that these concepts/categories corresponded to the key theoretical focus of this research. Right to the city is thus considered as the central phenomenon within the efforts and struggles of contemporary urban social movements.

Consequently, six are the categories that construct this amalgam of relations in respect to this phenomenon:

- **The demands** of urban social movement's activists towards the right to the city**.** *e.g.*: civil rights, public space, participatory democracy, right to housing, culture, urban mobility, urban gardening, right to the city.
- **The enemies, obstacles and problems** faced throughout the whole endeavor. *e.g.*: real estate speculation, capitalist urban planning, gentrification, social injustice, structure of the city, elitist city, manipulative/hegemonic state, economic crisis, political scenario, income concentration, security paranoia, violence discourse, conservative speech, unequal Brazilian society, state violence/police repression, criminalization of poverty, FIFA World Cup construction projects, Novo Recife project, market/capital interests, architecture of fear/sadness, nefarious strategies of cooptation, global-macro politics, fascist turnabout, fascism in the digital age, luxurious buildings, privatization of the city, walls/connections between academic milieu and activism.
- **Intervening conditions** that compose the scenario of action.
  e.g.: lawyer, arts teacher, filmmaker, journalist, professional knowledge, political strategies, #ocupeestelita, emotional process, being together, new spaces of activism, advertisement language, places of resistance, emotional landscape, historic downtown, self-management, cultural asset, historical building, left wing politics, middle class, isolation, burst the bubble, academic milieu, intellectuality, periphery/slums, Coque neighborhood, poor community, black youth/black women, contact points, political action, social construction, encounters of people (not necessarily friends), diversity of people, horizontal organization, flat hierarchy, collective decisions, emotional and physical weariness, changeable social groups, hope, struggle to survive, struggle for resistance, Facebook

algorithms, powerful way of transformation, active and continuous political life, disillusionment from the outside, rebirth from the inside, power to generate action in other forms.

- **Tools and strategies of action** applied by contemporary urban social movements.
  e.g.: occupation, appropriation, volunteer work, Facebook, YouTube, social media, network of designers, web design, community work, arts (culture), legal strategies, art language, public lectures, film exhibition, audiovisual production, documentary film, building narratives, subjective dimension, dispute of subjectivities, praxis construction, action in the present moment, university outreach programs, local action, act in the "now", music concerts, construction of a discourse/narrative.
- **Aspirations, desires, and dreams** of contemporary urban social movements.
  e.g.: democratic transformation of the city, art in the public space, equality, place for encounters of heterogeneities, another experience in the public space, autonomous democracy construction, utopia of the present moment, construction of a more interesting/equal world, people are getting together, right to choose where to live, egalitarian city.
- **Real consequences and results obtained** within the struggles towards the right to the city.
  e.g.: apartheid between the poor and the rich, forced evictions, neighborhood impact, environmental impact, atomization of life, urban "asphyxia", "Estelita" effect, people are getting together, another experience in the public space.

Substantive theories (selective coding)

The purpose of the selective coding is to integrate the concepts and categories presented above and construct a coherent narrative, which will define the substantive theories. Without the concern of statistical generalization, a substantive theory seeks to deepen the explanation of a particular reality, constructed from the experiences lived by the urban social movements approached in this research. Accordingly, the substantive theories which were raised after the whole empirical works compose the following narrative:

The demands of urban social movements in Recife can be confused at first sight with their aspirations and desires. However, these demands correspond to proposals that characterize the struggle towards the right to the city, as discussed by Henri Lefebvre (1968, 1970), David Harvey (2008, 2012a), Daniel Mullis (2013b), Andrej Holm (2011) and others. According to the interviewed activists, these measures would contribute to the overcoming of the contemporary devastating crisis of urban life, such as the guarantee of civil rights for all, availability of public/green spaces, access to participatory

political processes, availability of decent housing for all, access to cultural assets for all, as well as the availability of sustainable and democratic mobility in the city in confluence with an ecological and green environment. However, in the struggle for the achievement of these demands, urban social movements in Recife must deal with the pressure of two main forces, as already theoretically presented—directly or indirectly—by Alain Touraine (2000), Manuel Castells (2013), Milton Santos (2015 [2000]) and David Harvey (2005, 2011): the forces of the absent or hegemonic state, and the forces of the capitalist neoliberal free market. It is important to emphasize that with the unfolding of neoliberal politics, these forces are no longer contradictory or antagonistic, but rather complementary. These forces generate obstacles and problems that in Recife are mainly represented by real estate speculation, gentrification, privatization of city's public spaces, traffic jams, FIFA World Cup construction sides, the "Novo Recife" project, as well as more general hurdles such as the fascist turnabout, the economic crisis, the critical political scenario, income concentration, and global macro-politics.

There is one specific obstacle that was mentioned during the interviews that demands a special approach. It refers to the allegedly "walls between the academic milieu and social movements". The activists of urban social movements in Recife belong mostly to an academic and middle-class environment. They are aware, however, that it is necessary to promote the adhesion and participation of the poorest classes, who are the most affected by the problems generated by the unequal urban process which the right to the city seeks to overcome. And that is exactly what urban social movements of Recife claim to be undertaking: they are "points of contact" between the academic milieu—which in Brazil is traditionally elitist—and the working/poor classes—that historically have little access to formal levels of education. Activists in Recife argue that there is a great deal of prejudice on the part of conservative elites and holders of economic and political power who try to disqualify urban social movements because of the fact they consist basically of middle-class academics. These academics, however, claim that in an unequal society as the Brazilian society, their moral obligation is to use their academic knowledge to fight for social justice and better urban life for all.

This statement is directly linked to one of the most striking intervening conditions observed during the empirical works, which is represented by middle class academics that are using their professional knowledge in a volunteer basis to "burst the bubble", whereas creating an environment of heterogeneous and diverse encounters of people during the occupation movements. These occupations in Recife are one of the most noticeable tools of action and are considered as new spaces of activism, marked by emotional processes, by bringing together in an occupied public space, both the formerly isolated middle class and the poor/peripheral individual. As already unveiled by Lefebvrean and Werlenean theoretical discussions, this process refers to social construction (production) of the urban space. In the case of Recife, the construction/production of the urban space by urban social movements is characterized

by a horizontal organization, with flat hierarchy, where decisions are made collectively as a powerful way to the transformation of society, and of active and continuous political agency. Moreover, these urban social movements are characterized by being changeable over time. An emotional and physical weariness of some members could lead them to leave the group someday. Thus, new group members join the movement bringing new energy and new ideas. This feature was also theoretically approached with the contributions of Gesa Ziemer (2013) and her idea of "complicity" within urban social movements, which is also marked by ephemerality and creativity, as verified throughout the empirical works. Therefore, urban social movements in Recife show higher levels of resilience, despite being constantly affronted by the two other different agents of the production of space: the hegemonic powers of the state allied with the perversities of the money. Nonetheless, interviewees were mostly very optimist in respect of their activist profile, regardless all the obstacles mentioned before. One can summarize that urban social movements in Recife are disillusioned from the outside events (e.g. global macro-politics, fascist turnabout), but found in their everyday/local construction/production of space within the occupation movements, the necessary power to generate action in other forms. In other words, they find their own rebirth from the inside.

In this context of occupation (or even appropriation) of public spaces, which could be considered as the main strategy of action of urban social movements in Recife, a variety of other approaches were noticed during the field investigation. These are mainly linked to actions involving popular culture and performances in the field of art, such as film exhibitions, audiovisual production, and music concerts. The use of these languages of art refers to what some of the interviewees mentioned as being a tool in the dispute of subjectivities. Here, the analogy with the lived space as an interdependent part of the tridimensional dialectic relation of the production of space is made clear. This dispute of subjectivities is in fact a narrative construction and could be approximated to what Santos (2015 [2000]) referred as the construction of the globalized world as a possibility, by bringing people together in their praxis constructions, where a main utopia of the transformation of our society is the propellant that guides activists, social scientists, philosophers, artists, and other social actors. However, for all activists interviewed during the field research in Recife, this utopia is not a expectation of a future "better life in a better world", but rather, a construction in the "now": the "utopia of the present moment", which is reached instantaneously every time through their actions. Furthermore, it is important to point out that digital social media, such as Facebook and YouTube play a secondary role in the action and strategies of social groups interviewed in Recife. They are mainly used as a tool for creation and dissemination of special events, in the case of Facebook, or for the dissemination of the videos and other cinematographic pieces produced by the movement, in the case of YouTube.

Having said that, the two final categories raised through the empirical analysis could be considered in a bilateral relation to one another. They refer to the aspirations and desires of the social movements—which are somehow subjective—in contrast to the actual consequences and results achieved. Their main aspiration refers to the democratic transformation of the city and the urban life in general, which is marked by the construction of an equal world, where people are getting together and having a ludic, joyful experience in public spaces; and where people have access to decent housing and basic human rights such as quality food, clean and safe water, education and health assets. However, most of the results obtained so far tend to be considered as defeats or setbacks for urban social movements, such as: the apartheid between the poor and the rich—as a consequence of the privatization of urban space and neoliberal urban policies—forced evictions, neighborhood/environmental impact, urban "asphyxia", and the so called "atomization of life". Nonetheless, a limited number of "small victories" could also be observed, such as the "Estelita effect"—which relates to the fact that real estate corporations are now conducting intense research studies concerning the potential of a new real estate project to be contested by social movements such as #ocupeestelita—or even the simple fact that people are getting together and experiencing the urban public space. These "small victories" are considered as necessary fuel for the activists of the urban social movements in Recife to continue their struggles towards the right to the city and for the everyday construction of a more egalitarian and democratic urban space. Hereupon, I will discuss how this endeavor presents itself in the city of Hamburg, taking into account all the differences of the political, economic and social context.

6. What About the right to the city in Hamburg?

Located on the banks of the Elbe river, near to its mouth that flows into the North Sea, Hamburg is the second-largest city of Germany as well as one of the country's sixteen constituent states, with a population of more than 1.8 million people.[100] The economic importance of Hamburg to the northern region of Germany as well as to the rest of the country can hardly be overstated. The city is popularly known to have Europe's second largest seaport, as well as being the third largest hub in the aviation industry,[101] and the largest rail node in northern Europe. With so many attributes of economic greatness, it is clear that Hamburg is a very rich city. In Germany, it is said that the city has the highest concentration of millionaires in the country. True or not, the fact is that a short walk in the city center or in the surroundings of the "HafenCity" is enough to come across at all times with luxury cars like Porsches and BMWs.

The wealth of the city is tied to the colonial and imperialist history of Hamburg which is marked by maritime commerce, the driving force of the city-state since its foundation. It is very common to see references to the sea, the port, and navigation in various parts of the city, either in the facade of the buildings or the name of streets or public squares. Today, the port of Hamburg is one of the largest in the world with an area of about 75 km², occupying one-tenth of the total area of the city and employing about one-hundred and fifty thousand people.[102] Lisa Tschorn and Inken Carstensen-Egwuom (2014) approach these aspects in a critical way by reflecting on how this past connected with imperialist maritime exploration influences the conception of the city's urban space until today. The authors mention, for example, that one of Hamburg's most central squares is called "Coffee Plaza" where there is a huge bronze sculpture in the form of a coffee bean designed by the renowned Austrian artist Lotte Ranft (ibid. 9). It is no coincidence that the Coffee Plaza is home to the Neumann Group, which handles coffee worldwide. Other examples like this are easy to identify at the city, such as "Vasco da Gama square", "Emperor's quay", or even buildings named as varieties of tobacco (Virginia and Java) or teas (Silk and Ceylon). The consumption of colonial goods once stood for a special way of satisfying needs. Coffee, tea, tobacco and other colonial goods served as carriers for the ideology of colonialism since the German Reich in 1884. These products, as status symbols, "gave their European consumers a sense of distance, charged with the feeling of having a piece of the world and enjoying it in a privileged way" (Uhlmann 2007, p. 351).

---

100 Portal of the Land Statistics Office Hamburg. https://www.statistik-nord.de/zahlen-fakten/bevoelkerung/monatszahlen/ Accessed 20th Mai 2018

101 Airbus S.A.S. Source: http://company.airbus.com/careers/apprentices-and-pupils/In-Germany/schuler/location-hamburg.html Accessed 20th Mai 2018

102 Deutsche Welle. Source: http://www.dw.com/pt-br/hamburgo/a-938780 Accessed 25th Mai 2018

I decided to make this contextual approach to the city of Hamburg from a critical look at the current socio-economic conditions because with all these aspects of wealth and prosperity, Hamburg is nowadays considered the "gateway to the world". However, it is often forgotten or ignored that until the middle of the 20th century that this world was predominantly a colonial world and many Hamburg residents benefited from this colonial order long before the annexation of colonies by the German Reich in 1884. The critical view on the processes of globalization, as already strongly suggested in the course of the discussion and the theoretical construction of this thesis, allow a broader understanding of the reasons why the characteristics of urbanization processes in Recife and Hamburg—and therefore, of the urban social movements urban—are so unequal.

It is even possible to affirm that in some way, both cities are historically linked since colonial times and early globalization dynamics, through the development of what today results in the process of globalization as a perversity claimed by Milton Santos (2015 [2000]). Already in the first half of the eighteenth century, Hamburg became Europe's largest sugar refining center. The raw sugar that was grown on the American continent on plantations driven by the work of African slaves, as in Pernambuco, was later transported via London, Liverpool, or Amsterdam to Hamburg, where it was finally processed and sold to European markets. Hamburg merchants and traders were directly benefited by the so-called "triangular trade", in which slaves were traded goods from Africa to the American continent, where they produced raw materials such as raw sugar that was sold to Europe, which in turn produced manufactured goods that were traded at much higher prices. This elementary dynamics since the early times of capitalist development is repeated and even accentuated with Neoliberalism today. The modern German automobile industry, which carries an important responsibility for the fetishization of the automobile as a symbol of status around the world, is an example of these dynamics in contemporary times: only through the exploration of raw materials such as lithium, quartz, and iron ore—causing immense environmental damages—in countries like Brazil or Argentina, is the production of state-of-the-art products, such as Porsches and BMWs possible.

Therefore, questioning the legitimacy of the global, modern, capitalist, neoliberal system—which has its essence in colonial ideology—and its own privileged position, may encourage self-reflection and a new look at global justice policies, especially in regard to urban policies, which is exactly the main propellant for urban social movements' actions. Thus, it becomes evident that there is a close connection between seemingly "taken for granted" habits of western society—such as driving modern cars, taking regular vacations, traveling by plane, living in modern buildings, and buying gadgets—and the unequal contemporary globalization and urbanization processes. The local roots of colonialism can be traced not only to the relics that originated the period of the European colonial era but also in the contemporary everyday life and the urban-built environment. Regarding this last aspect, it is worth to mention the construction of

the Elbphilarmonie in Hamburg. Located on the Elbe River, on the western tip of the HafenCity, the Elbphilarmonie is one of the largest and most acoustically advanced concert halls in the world, and it is an outstanding example of modern architecture. However, with its complex curved glass façade, which for some people resembles an imposing ship, and for others the waves of a rough sea, the costs for the construction of this grandiose building—which were mostly covered with public money—surpassed the figure of 800 million dollars.[103]

Despite all the previously mentioned aspects that suggest a magnificent wealth and economic splendor, checked from the inside, Hamburg seems to roll wrongly down the same track as many other cities of the world through the neoliberal urbanization today. Inevitably, the problems of cities in the global south are much direr than those of the global north. However, as I have repeatedly been reinforcing throughout this thesis, the neoliberal development that occurs through the processes of urbanization, obey to a logic of globalization that is perverse. Therefore, north or south, the dynamics of harmful contemporary urbanization remains the same. In this context, Hamburg becomes a city with intense problems of gentrification, insufficient public housing, as well as a growing problem of energy supply, that therefore generates reaction and resistance of certain groups and social movements, that in the city are connected through a network: the network "Right to the city Hamburg".

6.1. Is Hamburg a "rebel city"?

My interest in undertaking scientific research in the field of urban geography in Hamburg arose in 2011 when I knew the town for the first time. Special attention was drawn to the planned neighborhood named "HafenCity", with its modern and attractive architecture buildings and the provision of a planned public space with equally modern and attractive promenade and squares. HafenCity is known as the largest inner-city urban development project in Europe. This new top-class office, shopping, and residential "planned city" is a flagship project that ran under a public-private partnership of gigantic proportions, initially sold to the public as a "profitable business". Using the strategies of city marketing, the government of Hamburg tried to sell the project as "a lively city with a maritime flair".[104]

The HafenCity project comprises an area of 388 acres and is—as planned by the city administration—unlike pure office and retail-dominated city centers, a city-development project that combines different uses, such work, living, culture, leisure, tourism, and retail. The project still boasts that it was designed to attend the "modern claim of

---

103 Norddeutscher Rundfunk. Source: https://www.ndr.de/nachrichten/hamburg/Elbphilharmonie-soll-789-Millionen-Euro-kosten,elbphilharmonie821.html Accessed 5th June 2018

104 City Hamburg. Source: https://www.hafencity.com/de/ueberblick/das-projekt-hafencity.html

urbanity and ecological sustainability and social heterogeneity".[105] All of these characteristics combined, seemed to me, seductive enough for a model of modern public space and social life that I always aspired for Brazilian cities and that I had until that moment only known through films that showed European cities such as Berlin, Paris, Barcelona, in which an ideal of encounters and heterogeneous exchanges in the public space is romanticized and even indoctrinated as a "developed lifestyle". In this way, the first draft of a research project appeared, which later would lead me to the final conception of the present research work. The initial idea, as already mentioned, was to establish and understand the uses of public spaces in Brazil and Germany, in which the German empirical case would be the example of HafenCity in Hamburg. After presenting this research project at a meeting of a network of German and Latin American researchers in the city of Bayreuth, Germany, in the summer of 2014, I received constructive criticism from Hamburg researchers—who were in the audience—that the HafenCity project was a clear example of neoliberal urbanism of top-down orientation, and therefore without relevance to most of the population of the city. For them, it would be much more interesting for a survey in the field of social geography if I addressed the topic of urban social movements in Hamburg that were involved in the struggles against the privatization of a public space that would later be known as *Park Fiction*, in the St Pauli neighborhood.

I decided to follow their suggestions, and then I went to Hamburg to make the first observations of the fieldwork still in that summer of 2014. After three consecutive days attending the public spaces of HafenCity, such as Marco Polo Terraces and Vasco da Gama Square, at different times of the day, I concluded that aside from the Unilever[106] white-collar workers, graphic designers, and advertising yuppies of the media companies based in the HafenCity, only tourists visited these spaces outside the lunchtime. I began to look at these spaces with different eyes. I also discovered the presence of anti-skaters spikes and cameras, which brings me to the idea of the monitored city. It was like the end of my "enchantment" with HafenCity.

The urban development model of public-private partnership, which HafenCity prides itself on, functions entirely in accordance with the private sector standards, as denounced by Christoph Twickel (2010). The new urban spaces in HafenCity are not only formally privatized but should also present the project externally as a branded product. The public-private partnership is selling its new district as a premium product to its customers, buyers, and tenants of high-quality residential and commercial real estate as a "compact, multi-layered city of short distances" (Twickel 2010, p. 41).

105 City Hamburg. Source: https://www.hafencity.com/de/ueberblick/das-projekt-hafencity.html

106 Unilever Germany/Austria headquarters is located in the HafenCity since 2009.

Figure 10: Spikes to avoid skaters in the Vasco da Gama Square – HafenCity. (Hiram Souza Fernandes 3rd July 2014)

Park fiction, on the other hand, is a public square that did not come from a top-down project of neoliberal urbanism. Quite the opposite; this public space only became a reality after about ten years of resistance and social struggle against the state power and the marketing logic of the private capital that in 1995 planned—at the same time that a big area along the Elbe shoreline was being sold off to new media companies (Schäffer 2004, p. 41)—to obstruct St. Pauli's last view of the river with a block of heavy buildings along the shoreline. However, St. Pauli dwellers clearly did not want these buildings, but rather, they wanted a public park. Schäffer (ibid.) recalls that demands for the creation of the public park rather than the wall of buildings, which he calls the "harbor wall", was carried out by a local network composed by social workers from the St. Pauli community center, priests, other residents of the neighborhood, as well as shop and cafes owners. This network developed a new set of practices and concepts, influenced by the texts and reflections of Lefebvre's *right to the city* that culminated in the creation of different ways to operate what they wanted in order to engage public space as a field of dispute (ibid. 43). This meant in practice that in parallel to the dimension of institutional and legal disputes, the Park Fiction network started to build through their action practices, their desires, and aspirations for that space. The initial idea of the network was to carry out the parallel planning process and the "collective production of desires" (ibid.) without being commissioned to do so by the authorities. Just as in the examples of the continuous construction of the public spaces through the occupation movements in Recife, in St. Pauli the process was likewise developed to be open and approachable by anyone who wanted to take part in the planning process, connecting arts and social movements.

After almost ten years of activism, social engagement, and struggles, Park Fiction became a reality and was inaugurated in 2003. The concept of this public square is a result of the collective production of desires developed by the local St. Pauli network. The park is characterized by its irreverent, playful design that is an invitation for public life and heterogeneous encounters. The "Tea Garden Island" features artificial palm trees where anyone can hang a hammock between them and enjoy the view over the harbor. The main attractions, however, are the three open-air solariums and the "Flying Carpet"—a wave-shaped piece of lawn where people during my observation (and I, myself) just lay down to relax, enjoy the moment, and perhaps even take a nap.

Figure 11: An afternoon moment in the Park Fiction, Hamburg. (Hiram Souza Fernandes July 4th, 2014)

In addition to Park Fiction, it is also prominent in Hamburg—with regard to the urban social movements and its achievements and actions—the Rote Flora, which is probably the best-known autonomous center in Germany. Since November 1989, the remaining building of the former "Flora Theater"—which belongs the city of Hamburg—in the Sternschanze neighborhood has been declared occupied. Since then, the building has been used as a cultural and political meeting place for the accomplishment of projects that strengthen the anti-capitalist struggle of this group. The interests of the project are organized within the framework of self-government by the group that formed from then on, denominated Rote Flora.

The Sternschanze neighborhood is located in the middle of Hamburg. It has a park and its own subway and suburban train stations. According to the city statistics[107],

[107] Portal of the Land Statistics Office Hamburg. http://region.statistik-nord.de/detail/10000000000000/2/0/227698/ Accessed 20th Mai 2018

approximately eight thousand people live there on more than half a square kilometer marked by narrow and cobbled streets. Those who live there appreciate the spirit of resistance and seek neighborliness in the right in the middle of the city with social and heterogeneous life and places for encounters. A life in which people of different social strata could meet, rich or poor, with or without a German passport; a life in places where one can stay without having to consume. However, this flair of freedom and a lifestyle that proposes an alternative to the precepts of capitalism has generated what it by itself intends to combat, namely, the market logics of capitalism. In an interesting current journalistic dossier on the city of Hamburg, Tobias Becker and Claudia Voigt (2017) demonstrate how gentrification processes have plagued the price dynamics of housing estates in the neighborhood. The authors point out for example how much the autonomous center Rote Flora was becoming—during its almost thirty years of existence—a symbol for the neighborhood, which with the development of the capitalist practices becomes economically appropriate. Today, the building is a place for the youth of Hamburg that to many residents was romantically transfigured (Becker and Voigt 2017, p. 21). The authors also expressed that for many residents the Rote Flora is a symbol that radiates freedom and energy, signaling that another world is possible, or at least another neighborhood. However, if taken in retrospect, one can say that the Rote Flora was also indirectly a push factor of the gentrification process.

I decided not to delve into this issue, given the fact that I was unable to interview representatives of the Rote Flora group[108]. My intention, however, is to demonstrate that with an autonomous center of anti-capitalist struggle established almost thirty years ago, or the victory of a network of residents who fought for the construction of a public square/park to prevent the privatization of this space, as well as the consolidation of the network "Right to the City Hamburg" network—Hamburg, like Recife—is characterized as a *rebel city*, as I will discuss below.

6.2. The actors towards the right to the city in Hamburg

As already mentioned, there is in Hamburg an active network of groups and initiatives connected through the idea discussed and proposed by Henri Lefebvre in 1968 under the name of "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" (Right to the City Hamburg). The emergence of this structure dates back to the year 2009 when twenty-five groups and initiatives have set up the network that spans not just several city neighborhoods but a variety of social environments well from anarchist to working and middle classes. The network became known in Hamburg and in the national political scene for organizing public district assemblies and street parades and protests. This is due to the fact of the inventive

[108] Several attempts to contact the Rote Flora were carried out to accomplish this research. However, I got no response.

character of the direct actions undertaken by the network—many as a resonance of the actions of Park Fiction and Rote Flora—that began to be reported in the hegemonic media in unexpectedly appreciative tones. Among the objectives of the network, which currently is composed by forty different groups and initiatives, range from the struggle and representation of popular housing in the city, for public spaces of sociability and heterogeneous/non-commercial encounters, socialization of land and property, besides the conception of a new participative-democratic urban planning and the preservation of the green areas of the city.

The network "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" has a website where all the initiatives that make up the network are listed. I decided to visit the websites, blogs and Facebook pages of all groups and initiatives to be able to decide which ones I would contact to conduct the interviews. Based on the experience of Recife, I believed that with about five or six interviewees I would obtain a sufficient sample to elaborate an understanding and interpretation of the production of the urban space through the action of these groups in Hamburg. Among the groups I tried to contact, were Park Fiction and Rote Flora. Both, however, did not respond to my attempts. Then later, when I was in Hamburg, conducting interviews with other groups and initiatives, I was informed that both Park Fiction and Rote Flora reached such a high level of media coverage that they have not been able to meet the demands of newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs, and academic researchers from all over the world. It seemed to me a plausible explanation, especially given that a few months before, in July 2017, due to the G20 summit meeting, Hamburg was the scenario of several demonstrations that ended in violent battles between police and demonstrators and acts of vandalism that were reported by the media around the world. At the time, the autonomous center Rote Flora was blamed by the government of Hamburg and accused by the media for the acts of vandalism because they were at the forefront of the organization of the demonstration—which was named "Welcome to Hell"—to protest against the G20. So, I traveled to Hamburg in the late fall of 2017, having already been in the town for three other occasions to do fieldwork observations, and now to do interviews with the following groups: City Hof, Keimzelle, Initiative Esso Häuser, and Kebap, as well as the network Recht Auf Stadt Hamburg.

Interview with Marco from City Hof e.V.

On September 29th I had my appointment with Marco, who besides representing the group City Hof e. V. also represented the speaker's council of the network "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg". We had arranged to meet in a café suggested by Marco in the neighborhood of St. Pauli. The establishment represented the typical style of the cafés in the neighborhood, with elements of the alternative culture, the political left, and anti-fascist movement everywhere. Starting with the music; even though it was only ten

o'clock in the morning, the loudspeakers were already playing "Machine Head" by the British band Deep Purple with full force. I wanted to stay there, have a beer and a relaxed conversation with Marco. However, the music and the noise from the bar, unfortunately, would make it impossible to record the interview audio. Marco suggested going to the Gängeviertel. Given that he is a member of the network's speaker's council, we would have access to a room in the Gängeviertel building complex where we could do the interview without interruption. The approximately two and a half kilometers way between the St Pauli district and the Gängeviertel was done in about fifteen minutes with our bikes on the well-planned bicycle paths of Hamburg.

At this point, I think it is pertinent to make a brief consideration about the Gängeviertel: *Gängeviertel e.V.* is a group of activists that in August 2009, occupied the Hamburg Gängeviertel, a historic building complex in the city center. The goal of the occupation was the preservation of buildings and the desire to permanently protect the area from real estate speculation. It was intended to create a diverse and enriching place for public life and sociability in Hamburg, which should be shaped by active inhabitants of the city. The squatters generated so much attention through their involvement, actions, strategies, and political pressure that the city of Hamburg bought back the coveted inner-city property from the investor. Such process was thus successful in the case of the Gängeviertel and resulted in the whole area being opened for cultural use, whereupon the so-called free and experimental art sites have emerged; these art sites are an important asset not only for the art business but also as a catalyst for urban life. As Marco and I went upstairs looking for an empty room, I could witness the realization of art workshops in various ateliers and lectures/seminars in some auditoriums. I was able to witness then, art, culture, and public life happening in a space of public use—made by people of the community, for the people of the community. At that moment I thought about the movement #ocupeestelita in Recife and its exhausting and constant struggles to achieve the same reality.

It would have been interesting if I had been able to interview some member of the *Gängeviertel e.V.,* but as with Rote Flora and Park Fiction, my attempts to contact were not answered. Without feeling sorry about it, I started the interview with Marco in a very quiet atelier—in contrast with the St. Pauli café—about the City Hof e.V., group of which Marco is representative. Unlike the Gängeviertel, the City Hof is a recent initiative that according to Marco, started its activities just over three years ago, with the goal of preserving the City Hof, which is a complex of four historic buildings with a shopping passage in the city center, in front of the main station. Inaugurated in 1958, this complex of buildings was designed by the renowned architect Rudolf Klophaus, and due to its historical and architectural importance, it is—according to Marco—a protected cultural monument building complex. The City Hof belongs to the city of Hamburg, and following the neoliberal logic of privatizing spaces, buildings, and other public assets, is in the sales plans of the city government. Marco pointed out that:

The privatization plan was already announced, and the sale advertised. The sale also announced that later, so after the sale, it will able to demolish the buildings [pause] which for a protected monument should actually not be allowed. Well, that's all really not right.

Marco continued and told me that the group is a regular and officialized association (Verein). Thus, the group sees itself as a critical participant of the urban planning, and for this purpose, it provides a public forum in which concrete strategies and spaces of action can be discussed and emerge. The objective of establishing a legal association is—for Marco—because with this form it is possible to call attention to the problem and provide a space for all people who want to contribute to the development of the city. Marco mentioned that the association is composed by something around thirty members, which are more-or-less active in the actions of the group. He claims that it is necessary to make the distinction between active and passive members: *this is something that has changed over and over again. It is normal; new people joined in, old ones left.* In this regard, I could also make the association with the characteristics of this group and the idea of complicity considered by Ziemer (2013, 2014), which is marked by ephemerality and impermanence of the relations.

Given that the group was linked to the urban problems in the city of Hamburg, Marco thought that it was important that the City Hof e.V. became a member of the "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" network, which for him has the potential and the task of providing the awareness for urban dwellers concerning the struggles towards a democratic urban life. Marco also emphasized the importance of the network by highlighting the role it played and still plays in supporting the groups and initiatives that are starting their activities, as well as the role of mediating the exchange of experiences among different groups.

I then asked about the motivations that led him to be active throughout these urban struggles, and like those interviewed in Recife, Marco mentioned his professional capacities and the will to align his knowledge with the desire to shape not only cities, but also the society, in a fairer way for all. Marco studied architecture and currently holds a master's degree in urban design, and for this reason, he stated:

I want to change the city, change society, because in my opinion a lot of things are going wrong in our society right nowadays. And that is also something that first became clear to me when discussing individual projects or dealing with the right to a city. I never knew thought about it before. [pause] Well, we live in abundance these days, many things are cheap, and we just throw a lot of things away and do not even think that certain resources are not available forever and that is why our successor generations will then have to live with this problem. That's why I think we should have to look at our cities much more from an ecological point of view. You know? Recycle, reuse, *as the City-Hof for example. This is not just a protected monument, which has only a cultural and social value [pause] it also has an environmental value that must be preserved.*

Then, the marketing and neoliberal character that cities are being administered is also mentioned in Marco's speech as one of the reasons for his engagement:

The way that urban development is concerned, purely from the market-oriented market approach [pause] I think that the city can no longer be left to the investors, because they build and plan cities with their own motivation; namely with the motivation to earn money. There's a lot of interest in the back. That's why there are hardly any affordable rents out there any longer, and I'm firmly convinced that if we do that differently, if we organize urban land differently, then we could avoid some problems in the future. [pause] But it seems that politics does not dare or is too lazy for that.

Turning to the end of the interview, I asked Marco to tell me about some of the group's strategies and actions. He told me that since the group campaigns for lived and built culture, the strategies range from cultural programs with musical concerts, to more traditional ones, such as guided tours in the City Hof, information events, distribution of flyers and stickers, posters placarding, and demonstrations. Regarding actions in the virtual space of the internet and social networks, Marco reported the dissemination of events through the Facebook page and the realization of virtual petitions. However, he did not seem to be a big fan of using these tools. Marco even was skeptical concerning the reach of Facebook posts that due to the mechanism of the algorithms are, according to him, very limited. *"Unless we invest in posts and paid advertising on Facebook."* But in this respect, Marco also does not state whether it is a good course of action and strategies for the group or not. Ultimately, Marco remembers an important strategy:

The most notable strategies are the city parades. These are also formally demonstrations, but not just in the classical sense, where you go in blocks from point a to point b, but you try to make that a bit more interesting and creative. I think that almost always has the character of a carnival parade rather than a classic demonstration. And I think that this is the claim to get even more attention, but also to have fun and to encourage people to participate.

To conclude, I asked him to tell me about his/their prospects for the City Hof and for the network "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg", taking into account the current urban policies of the city government. Marco answered me in a very definitive way:

We are totally against the neoliberal city development logic, which is since the eighties progressively operating in Hamburg and turning the city into a trademark. [pause] We think that this is very wrong because cities are not a business. Cities are living spaces, places of social life. With this neo-liberal urban development, the state tasks, such as housing or basic services, are being increasingly put into private hands. This is why we hope the City Hof e. V. achieves its objectives of winning this struggle against the project of privatization of this buildings complex and that the network "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" continues to contribute to the construction of a city for all.

After these succinct, but full-of-content words, I said goodbye to Marco and promptly rode my bicycle to meet Harald, representative of the Keimzelle -a very different group compared to the City Hof e.V.- as will be discussed below.

Interview with Harald from "Die Keimzelle".

As soon as I left the Gängeviertel, I drove my bike again to the St. Pauli neighborhood, more specifically in an area known as Karoviertel, where Harald met me at his apartment. Besides being a social and cultural activist, Harald is also a philosopher, with whom I could have an interesting conversation and reflect not only on urban social movements but also on contemporary human life and society. As I mentioned earlier, the Keimzelle group differs from the City Hof e.V. for two main reasons: firstly, because it does not constitute itself as a legal, institutionalized association, and according to Harald, they intend to continue this way. Secondly, because the demands of the group are not linked—at very first sight—to a strictly urban theme—as in the case of the City Hof, the preservation of a monument building—but with the problem of food production, which according to Harald, has a great potential for sustainability in the urban environment.

According to Harald, the history of the group recalls the year 2011 when during spring that year, a small number of political activists and residents of St. Pauli decided to demand a piece of urban green space as a commons. It was the very "large area" of the former *Rindermarkthalle*, a public area in the middle of one of the most popular and busiest districts of Hamburg. The initial constitution of the Keimzelle was made up of a rather heterogeneous group of people of the neighborhood, which were primarily interested in "gardening" together with each other somewhere near their places of residence and their everyday living environment. It was an attempt to raise attention to the importance of growing vegetables locally and sustainably. However, as stated by Harald, the people were also engaged because of the motivations around the discussions to redesign the future use of a large, vacant, and public space in the middle of St. Pauli, which was becoming an object of real estate speculation. That is the reason Harald emphasized that one can consider the Keimzelle as an urban social movement and its actions as a "political intervention," although the core action is also associated with "artistic/cultural intervention."

Harald continued his speech enumerating the objectives of the group, which according to him, are interrelated, in essence, with each other. First, to raise attention to the contemporary food production issue by starting local food production in an urban environment, and therefore, stimulating transformations of the global chain of food relations. The second goal is what Harald called "the artistic approach" of using public space on an idle area to create a district garden that functions as a commons and participatory platform of a democratic urban planning process. Ultimately, the group also aims to propose an urban structural transformation of the public space beyond the supremacy of political or economic dimensions, to transform urban space into a public stage of human interaction

After this exciting initial explanation, Harald told me, however, that almost nothing of this was possible because the disputes for the public use of the area of the old

"Rindermarkthalle" were closed by the city government. I persisted and then asked if there was resistance and he answered:

No, that would not be allowed and so on, no way. But then there was an alternative, and we accepted that it was taking on a symbolic sponsorship of a small area of about thirty square meters of a public square here in the neighborhood, the Ölmühlenplatz. It was not an occupation; it was not a "guerrilla action." There were just these preliminary discussions with the authorities, and we received the authorization to use this space. That means here in Hamburg that we take over the "sponsorship" for a certain small area in public space. However, Keimzelle still exists simply because there is this public space. It works in some ways, for example, the bookshelves for book exchange or food sharing. These are the little things that work. And that's why, so to speak, that just a few, three, four people have been there since 2014 again and again and so we keep this space upright.

Figure 12: Sponsorship area in public space for Keimzelle activities, Ölmühlenplatz, Hamburg. (Hiram Souza Fernandes 29th September 2017)

Figure 13: Food-sharing shelf in the sponsorship area for Keimzelle activities, Ölmühlenplatz, Hamburg. (Hiram Souza Fernandes 29th September 2017)

From that moment, it is possible to notice a certain tone of pessimism and hopelessness in the speech of Harald. In general, Harald seemed disillusioned with the socio-political and cultural context of humanity, as well as urban life in contemporary times. This was possible to conclude when he stated, for example, that by the time of founding the Keimzelle group, he thought that many other people would also have interest in engaging in playful community activities, but over time. he discovered that it was not quite like that. Harald reduces the ideas of "Resistance", "self-organization", "a movement from below". and "revolutionäre Humanismus" to analytical, theoretical categories that serve as a basis for practical action, but which he considers as "very complicated" when it turns to the real world. In relation to academic research on this subject, Harald even stated:

In my opinion, a scientific reflection on these things today needs this level, this skepticism, against these utopianisms, because we have to deal with the fact that this story is always retold, but in the end, it does not really happen that something big changed.

Regarding current urban development policies and the production and construction of urban space by diverse agents, such as social movements, Harald remains skeptical and somewhat pessimistic. He thinks that city planning processes and urban development should refer more to the neighborhoods, districts, local associations, and so on, but this is not the trend he has been witnessing, and therefore, he asked himself:

What does the right to city movement look like in the future? It will fall apart. It dissolves […] I do not want to make it small, but you just notice that is stagnant and that's why as soon as something else comes, the people jump off or something like that. "Right to the city" still meets regularly, but basically,

it does not matter anymore. It was this thrust of the 1980's, 1990's, 2000's, which specifically in Hamburg created some groups such as Rote Flora, HafenCity and so on. This is all history now.

At that moment, having mixed feelings and being somehow confused, Harald put an end to his speech pointing out his prospects, even though it was already clear to me.

Even if this has sounded very pessimistic, we will not stop. [pause] that's just what comes after the utopia. The utopia. There is no alternative.

"The utopia after the utopia". In fact, this sounds like that expression I constantly heard in Recife: "utopia of the present moment." So I did not finish the interview on Keimzelle so disillusioned or pessimistic as it could be. After leaving Harald's apartment, I went to the square where Keimzelle adopted a small area and was happy to see a piece of beautiful public space with plants, vegetables, fruits, and even a bookcase for sharing food, books, or small household items.

Interview with Irene from Initiative Esso Häuser

Irene is a filmmaker and social activist who, since the early 2000´s, has been present in the activities of the St. Pauli community center and the social movement networks of the neighborhood; at that time, these social networks Irene was a part of fought for the preservation of the public space that would give rise to Park Fiction. Irene invited me to go to her apartment for this interview. The building, which is close to Park Fiction, has a privileged view of the River Elbe and the port of Hamburg. Irene offered me an herbal tea; the herbs of this tea were planted and harvested by herself. With a relaxed and friendly mood, she led a flowing conversation with me for almost an hour, so that I did not have to intervene for information. Irene has been engaged since mid-2011 with the Initiative Esso Häuser. She explained that this group was founded around 2010 after a real estate company from München (Bayerische Hausbau) bought the *Esso Häuser* building complex on the Reeperbahn. The complex consisted of two apartment buildings with eight floors each, a passageway with shops, bars. and clubs on the ground floor, as well as a gas station (hence the origin of the complex name). Irene reminded me that this symbolism of cars and gas station is an expression of a certain time, which stood for something new after the Second World War. Moreover, it stood for a new architectural style, which was then later very discredited. This represents, in a certain practical way, the three-dimensional relations of the Lefebvrean dialectic of the production of space, between the conceived, the experienced, and the lived space.

The acquisition of the Esso-Häuser by the Bayerische Hausbau, which formerly belonged to the city of Hamburg, was only publicly known when tenants and residents received letters ordering the signing of new leases that would be limited to the end of 2013 under the threat of having to leave their apartments at the end of that month. (Previous contracts were unlimited). The residents then sought the advice and

consultation of the St. Pauli community center (GWA St. Pauli) that advised them to ignore the threats and not sign the contracts. Therefore, the network of the neighborhood composed by GWA St. Pauli and other activists, thought about what could be done and at once started inviting to the first meetings. Hence, with the participation of a few tenants and traders from Esso-Häuser, came the idea of founding the group *Initiative Esso-Häuser*. The apprehension of the initiative was just that the Bayerische Hausbau bought the buildings to demolish them to build luxury condominiums. Therefore, the initiative was born with the aim and the desire to prevent the eviction of tenants, and consequently, the demolition of the buildings. All this context can be inferred from Irene's speech, who stated:

We assume that they already talked to the city about the demolition plans anyway and we do not know anything about it. [pause] but that's usually like that. That's speculation! Otherwise, they might not even have bought these buildings. Or they have been very naïve and simply did not know where to invest and did not know what it might mean to invest in St. Pauli, where there is a high potential for resistance.

Irene then told me that through the meetings, the initiative decided to make a film to accompany and report this process of struggles between the initiative and the real estate company. In this struggle, the municipal administration presented itself as a mediator, but as it is possible to infer—both from Irene's speech and from what is presented in the Film—the city of Hamburg was mostly alongside the marketing logic of the supremacy of the capital. A proof of this, according to Irene, was the technical engineering report hired by the city of Hamburg which described that the state of the Esso-Häuser buildings was in danger of collapse, and therefore, the refurbishment work would be out of the question. Later, in the course of the work of the initiative, it has been found that the conservation and repair works on the buildings had been neglected. Then it came out that it was not only on the last four years—when they belonged to the Bayerische Hausbau—but also before, when the buildings were still property of the city. This seems to be a recurring tactic of neoliberal urbanism, which was constantly denounced by social movements of Recife. This tactic consists of the intentional abandonment of public lands, buildings, and spaces that became thus devalued and then passed on to private hands, which transforms them into objects of speculation. The group still tried through legal means to list the Esso Häuser complex as a historical monument, which, however, was not successful due to the refusal of the city of Hamburg.

Irene mentioned that the actions of the initiative were as diverse as possible. One of the main actions, in which she actively participated, was the production of the film that accompanied the entire process of discussion and dealings with the real estate company, as mentioned previously. The film (documentary), which is called "Buy Buy St. Pauli," was produced by Irene as the main director and received film funding from the German public institutions of incentive to the culture. It is, therefore, possible to establish a

comparison between the film production of Recife, which made its films independently, although they were only short film productions. Among the other action strategies of the Initiative Esso Häuser, Irene mentioned the meetings and exchanges of experiences with other groups of the network, "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg", tenants information meetings, postcard campaigns, art exhibitions, and classic demonstrations.

In February 2012, the Bayerische Hausbau published an official note stating that it would no longer deal with the Initiative Esso Häuser. From that moment on, they would only conduct negotiations directly with the city of Hamburg. In addition, the real estate company declared definitively and authoritatively that the buildings would be demolished, and the construction works of a luxury condominium—according to original planning—would be started in 2014. Irene then commented ironically:

You know that still today there is nothing being built, don't you? So, they have seriously misjudged this attitude. Of course that did not work.

From that moment on, however, the dealings and struggles of the movement became increasingly tense. Irene referred to this era as the "combat phase", in which new people from the neighborhood and the network of movements for the right to the city came together in support of the struggles of the Initiative Esso Häuser, characterizing, once again, relations of complicity at specific moments and strategies of the social movements.

Very different people have gathered against a "common enemy", in quotes, or towards a common goal, if you want to express it positively. At this stage, we did not even know all the people involved very well, but it was simply a very special mixture that gave strength to the movement.

Irene reported that the boiling point occurred in the great demonstrations of December 2013. At the beginning of that month, the property needed to be evacuated because some residents reported tremors, and therefore, there was a risk of collapse. This night of emergency evacuation was documented in the "Buy Buy St. Pauli" movie that raises the question of the legitimacy and veracity of the causes of the tremors in the building structures. The fact is that Esso Häuser's apartments were evacuated that night and the building complex was demolished in May 2014. The tenants were provisionally relocated to hotels, and this led the movement to harden its actions and the frequency of public demonstrations by collecting solutions and demanding co-participation in the planning process of the new concept that should be developed at the Esso Häuser. The big demonstration took place on December 20th 2013, which is still referred nowadays,—and has escalated—with acts of violence that broke out both on sides of the protesters- However, according to Irene, the violence escalated mainly on the side of the police. It was a demonstration jointly organized by the network "Recht auf Stadt Hamburg" to demand a solution for the Lampedusa refugees, the permanence of the Rote Flora, and a participative solution for the future of the Esso Häuser. After these

demonstrations, the St. Pauli neighborhood was declared a danger zone, and Irene commented on this tense atmosphere:

A large part of St. Pauli was declared a danger area. As a result, demonstrations were held every day, in the form of district tours. They were not officially registered as a demonstration; they happened spontaneously. There were a lot of people on the streets every day, and therefore a lot of police officers too. And then the toilet brush became a symbol of resistance here. Have you heard of this? So, there was a video on tagesschau.de, where a policeman scanned a young man and pulled out of his belt a toilet brush. That, in turn, has someone from the network "Recht auf Stadt", used to edit a short video, in which this toilet brush is always pulled out like this. As a result, from then on, it became a symbol in the neighborhood, and everybody protested with a toilet brush against this danger area. You still can see today toilet brushes everywhere in this district.

Despite the events of violence and conflict with the police, from the beginning of 2014, the initiative Esso Häuser started to achieve success in its actions which culminated in the decision of the city of Hamburg to design a concept of architecture office that would be developed and put into practice by the residents of St. Pauli and the initiative itself. This is where the *PlanBude* comes in. It was made up of a multi-professional team with artists, architects, and activists from the scene in the neighborhood with the function of organizing workshops, projects, and gathering in loco the wishes of the population for the future of that area. PlanBude had its office located in a container that had been installed by the city government on the corner where the Esso Häuser used to be. PlanBude acted as a factory of wishes that later formed the development of the "St. Pauli Code" that would guide the architectural competition for the definition of the project that would be executed in the construction of the new Esso Häuser. St. Pauli code states that fifty percent of the housing should be destined to social apartments, luxury apartments should not be so big and pretentious, it should present a mixture of uses, be favorable for local business opportunities, and it should have an area of public use on the ground level as well as ecological and sustainable use of the roof.

Irene said that despite a lot of struggle and a lot of difficulties along the process, the initiative Esso Häuser emerged victorious from this confrontation with the capital, which was represented by the real estate company. She stated that she believes that the reason for this success is that there is a very great sense of neighborhood identity in St. Pauli, which is based on an ideology that advocates egalitarian urban development. She then ended her account as follows:

Because of our actions and our resistance, we managed to achieve some things here in Hamburg, where the authorities have also understood that they sometimes have to make concessions. So I think, especially in this process with the Esso Häuser, that the key is the dialog and the continuous action. I do not know if already mentioned, but from now on, this process will be even further accompanied in the project council, where there will be regular meetings with the Bayerische Hausbau, the PlanBude, the city government, and us. Work and struggle continues.

Interview Marlene and Heike from Kebap

The Kebap group was the first to respond to my emails when I asked them about the possibilities of an interview. Always with a lot of courtesy and sympathy, Marlene invited me to participate in the "garden day", which takes place on Saturdays. We agreed that—for this first meeting—I would, initially, only visit the group, the place, and get to know about the activities performed there, since she is almost always busy on these special days. Therefore, we would then later meet for an interview. After a ride of about an hour with my bicycle through the streets of Hamburg, I arrived at Kebap looking forward to what I would find there.

Kebap is a city development project from the Altona neighborhood. According to Marlene, this is not only about the location, but above all, to the emergence and anchoring in the district. Kebap is a registered association (Verein) and has been carried out and developed since 2010 by people who work, live, and is socially engaged in the neighborhood. The aim, according to Marlene is to literally fill the Bunker "Schomburgstraße" with life. With more than fifty meters wide and almost nineteen meters high, this Bunker was built between 1941 and 1943 and at that time offered 1650 sleeping places and 165 seats. Between 1970 and 1974, the bunker was repaired for civil defense and has since over 3510 places.

Figure 14: Bicycle demonstration at the Kebap project. Bunker in the background. (Source: KEBAP e.V.)

The Kebap project, therefore, attempts to claim the use of this deactivated Bunker from World War II and turns it into a place to produce enough district heating that would be necessary to meet the needs of the Altona neighborhood in a fully sustainable way. Moreover, the initiative provides a communal garden area, with a plantation of fruits, vegetables, and greens and increase the opportunity for public spaces of leisure, art, culture and urban planning processes. While Marlene takes me to show the area around the bunker where the fruits and vegetables in the community garden grow, she explained that the project, which has been developing for four years, is to become a place of encounters between culture and energy production.

Marlene also explained that the group does not have yet the rights to use the Bunker, which belongs to the city Hamburg, and therefore, the energy and urban heating production plan still cannot be put into practice. However, the group stays positive because it has been more than four years of engagement and public use of the area around the Bunker and presentation and conception of the project, which all believe that it is practically impossible that it does not become a reality. After a pleasant afternoon meeting with other members of the group and participants in the "Garden Day", Marlene and I made an appointment for two days later.

At that time, Heike, one of the founding members of the association would also be present. She told me then that the actions of the group are concentrated on two fronts:

At the one side, we are still working on realizing the entire project, which is, generating sustainable heat in the bunker on a decentralized basis and, on the other hand, creating spaces for neighborhood culture and projects. We're also involved into politics, talking to the district authorities, talking to the city authorities, and so on. We have just done the after-effect study that was completed this year, along with engineers and architects.

And Marlene then concluded:

We are mainly in the garden, with regular garden days, where everyone can participate, then we cook together. And so we are also continuing to expand the terrain here with sustainable facilities. We have built a solar system, an irrigation system, which is operated by the solar system. We have built a compost landscape and the compost burning toilet. [pause] With the rocket stoves we cook on, and we always do that in a workshop form, so that we always invite people there as well, when we build something again. We like to spread these ideas of sustainability and all those who are interested, can participate, so that knowledge can be exchanged and we all learn something from each other.

Impressed by the number of actions, strategies, and projects, I ask then if all this work is voluntary and Heike explained to me that they work mainly on a voluntary basis. But there is, since 2015, a federal funding project, as part of a pilot project of the national urban development policy. Moreover, thanks to the urban energy program "Living together in the City" they can afford a part-time job to an assistant who takes care, especially, of the community garden.

Figure 15: "Garden day" at the Kebap project (Source: KEBAP e.V)

The Kebap project was really amazing, full of life, with concepts of sustainability being put into practice and promoting urban and social life in the community. So I asked them, what were the reasons and motivations for doing such a beautiful and inspiring job. And Marlene pointed:

I personally believe that in this project there are incredibly many topics that interest me and direct me to fight for sustainable urban development in the ecological and social sense. But there is also the will to be able to shape my own environment, the society in which I live and make from it a community that tries to solve some of the problems of the capitalist system in a local and self-sufficient way.

Heike gave her answer as follows:

My motivation is to strive for sustainability at all levels, not only ecological sustainability but also social and community sustainability [pause] that's why we want to live together, shape our own environment. For me it is also motivating to engage in this group, because I take better care of my health with this atmosphere of peace that exists here [pause] I take care of my diet, I think about permaculture, about generating energy locally and sustainably and that does well for my mental health as well. It is the desire to create a better society now in the present moment [pause] a solid society [pause] and what attracts me to the project, is that here you really have the feeling that you can somehow move and do something

At the end of the conversation, Heike addressed and pointed out her prospects to the group, reminding that they were in a phase where this project had the potential to go beyond the idea and become real.

We really have to take our journey here seriously, and I hope there will be courage here at the level of a city administration that is exactly what is limiting us now. It is still pending the decision to actually

implement this energy generation project for the neighborhood. [pause] so we demand it from politicians, that is, from any of the authorities, especially at the city level. And yes, I really do wish that in our city more people would have the courage and spirit of social engagement to carry out projects like this, so that we can contribute to build a more just society for all.

6.3. Theoretical analysis and empirical evidences of Hamburg's rebelliousness

Following the methodological scheme used to discuss and describe the results obtained after the field research in Recife, the transcribed interviews raised during the empirical works in Hamburg were also analyzed according to the theoretical coding in order to present substantive theories. These theories were developed after both previous coding steps (open coding and axial coding), which are the tools used to reach the concepts (open coding) and categories (axial coding) that refers to the phenomena researched. The presentation of the substantive theories will here already refer—in a comparative manner—to the substantive theories raised in Recife. First, however, I will present the concepts collected through the open coding for each of the interviewees.

Marco

Preservation of buildings
City-Hof
Landmarked buildings
Municipal building
Privatization plans
Demolition plans
Monument
Initiative / Association
Fight to preserve the buildings
Lived and built culture
City development
Network "Right to the city"
Volunteer work
Ideology
Change our society
Participate in political process
Shape the city
Architect / City planner
Urban design
Activist
Smartphones
Right to the city
Professional interest
Throwaway society
Abundance
Limited resources
Ecological point of view
Cultural value
City of investors
City of profit
Very heterogeneous group
Always in change
Cultural movement
Social movement
Events
Guided tour
Demonstration
Musical program

Guerrilla activism
Flyposting
City parade
To have fun with it
To raise attention
Neighbors
Contract
City government
Own homepage
Facebook page
Facebook algorithms
Living space
Neoliberal city development
Hamburg as commercial brand
Private sector
Logic of capitalism
Possibility of another city
City for all
Fairer city

Harald

Group with no fixed structure
Big public/vacant area
Neighborhood area
Urban gardening
Planning process
Sponsorship of public space
Food sharing
Book sharing
Volunteer work
Shape the city
Ecological shaping of the city
Changeable group
Spaces of encounters
Top-down politics
People want to participate
Decision about their own lives
Right to the city
Physical presence
Confrontation with the police
Park Fiction
Esso Häuser
Bottom-up
Complicity
Political scenario
Resistance
Resilience
Self-Organization
Humanism
Utopias
Optimism
HafenCity
Flagship Project
No fences

Irene

Initiative Esso Häuser
Real estate corporation
Building complex
Commercialization
Gentrification
Tenant helps tenant
Tenant's advice
Film production
Real estate speculation
St. Pauli
Social Movements
Resistance potential
Demonstrations
Film Exhibitions
Architecture competitions
Cars and gas station
Monument
Listed building
Demolition
Music video
St. Pauli code
Network Right to the city

Rote Flora

Police violence

Evacuation / Eviction of the building

Resistance

Toilet brush as a symbol of resistance

PlanBude

Neighborhood

Participation of the neighbors

Planning office

Interdisciplinary team

Participation process

Artists and architects

Production of desires

School projects

Community participation

Make it visible

Success of the initiative

Public housing

Open access

Multiple uses

Use of the roofs

Sustainable buildings

FabLab

Clubs and Cafés

Self-empowerment

Political position

Right to the city

Complicity

Different people getting together

Possibility to earn an income

Make activism a payed work

Motivation

Film sponsorship

Marlene and Heike

Political group

Resistance against elitist infrastructure project

Elitist renovation of the city

Gentrification

Ecological movement

Oppression of the socially vulnerable populations

Symbolic heroic act

Occupation

Regular meetings

Neighborhood movement

Sustainability topics

Green / Ecological city

Local energy production

Project

Sustainable concept

Bunker

Neighborhood impact studies

Participation procedures

Knowledge exchange

Engineers

Architects

Planning workshops

Urban gardening

Solar plants

Irrigation system

Composting toilet

Learning with one another

Generate own energy

Produce own food

Space of encounters

Renewable / local energy

Make something together

Volunteer work

Pilot project

National city development politics
Payed jobs
Association
Permanent employment
Shape the city
Create livid communities
Shape better societies
Sustainability in all levels
Social justice
Social sustainability
Appropriate spaces
Heterogeneous group
Cooperative
Member of cooperative
Political left ideas
Existential question
Food sharing
Organization structure
Needed to make politics
Legal form
Legal representation
Make the project turn into reality
Ambitious project
Right to the city movement
Friendship
Trust
Complicity
Spend time together
Common passion
Common targets
Personal differences
Great shared experiences
Neighborhood project
Everybody is welcome
Communities in the neighborhood
Facebook is secondary

General categories (axial coding)

Along with the presented concepts, one can thus conclude that the raised general categories in Hamburg follow, more or less, the same scheme verified in Recife. Nonetheless, there was a major difference: in Recife, "urban social movements" and "right to the city" were considered as main concepts that were themselves self-determining categories. In Hamburg, however, "urban social movements" gives space—as a category—to the ideas of "association", "initiative" or "cooperative". I'll still return to this point in detail. Nonetheless, the six main categories that represent the research phenomenon observed in Hamburg are the same that were discussed about Recife:

- **The demands** of urban activists, members of associations, initiatives and cooperatives.
  e.g.: preservation of historical buildings, the possibility to shape urban design and city development, participation in planning process, green city, participation of the community, public housing, sustainable buildings, sustainable city, public spaces of multiple uses and open/guaranteed access to all, production of local/sustainable energy.
- **The enemies, obstacles and problems.**
  e.g.: privatization of public buildings, demolition of buildings, municipal city development, throwaway society of abundance, city of investors, city of profits,

city government, neoliberal city development, private sector, capitalism logics, top-down politics, confrontation with police, police violence, current political scenario, flagship projects, HafenCity, real estate corporation, real estate speculation, gentrification, elitist renovation of the city, oppression of the socially vulnerable populations.

- **Intervening conditions** that characterize the environment of action towards the right to the city.
  e.g.: listed buildings, landmarked buildings, City-Hof, monument, initiative, association, fight to preserve historical buildings, network 'right to the city', ideology, volunteer work, architect/city planner, urban design, activist, smartphone, right to the city, professional interest, ecological point of view, cultural value, very heterogeneous group, changeable groups, cultural movement, social movement, neighbors, contract, Facebook algorithm, group with no fixed structure, public/vacant area, sponsorship, spaces of encounters, Park Fiction, Esso Häuser, Rote Flora, bottom-up, complicity, self-organization, humanism, optimism, St. Pauli, resistance potential, cars and gas station, St. Pauli code, PlanBude, planning office, interdisciplinary team, clubs and cafés, possibility to earn an income, make activism a payed work, financial motivation, ecological movement, neighborhood movement, bunker, engineers, generate own energy, produce own food, urban gardening, renewable energy, sustainability, pilot project, ambitious project, permanent employment, organization structure, legal form, legal representation.
- **Tools, and strategies of action** towards the right to the city in Hamburg.
  e.g.: volunteer work, events, guided tour, demonstrations, musical program, guerrilla activism, flyposting, city parade, having fun with it, own homepage, Facebook page, Facebook is secondary, neighborhood gardening, urban gardening, food sharing, book sharing, physical presence, tenant's council, film production, film exhibitions, music video, toilet brush as a symbol of resistance, production of desires, school projects, regular meetings, local and autonomous energy production, planning workshops, knowledge exchange, sustainability projects, cooperative, legal form, legal representation.
- **Aspirations, desires and dreams** of social movements in Hamburg.
  e.g.: city for all, fairer city, to win this struggle, sustainable shaping of the city, participation of the people, people deciding about their own lives, no fences, public housing and payable rents for all, ecological city, sustainable concepts applied to urban life, spaces of encounters, vivid communities, shape better societies, social justice.
- **Real consequences and results obtained** within the struggles towards the right to the city in Hamburg.

e.g.: privatization/commercialization of public buildings, demolition of buildings, gentrification, oppression of the socially/economically vulnerable populations, Hamburg as a commercial brand, confrontation with the police, police violence, PlanBude, planning office, participation in the planning process, private building with common/public uses, sustainability workshops, spread of sustainability ideas.

Substantive theories (selective coding)

According to the method of the selective coding, substantive theories are presented after the integration—through causal relations—of categories and concepts, composing thus a coherent narrative. As already mentioned, the categories and concepts collected through both empirical cases present mainly similarities, but also, some differences.

The demands of urban social movements in Hamburg are more specific, local and clear defined. Whereas in Recife the demands comprehended, for example, "more public spaces", "participatory democracy" and the "right to housing", in Hamburg these represent more generalizing demands, or simply final aspirations, dreams and desires of urban social movements. In the German city, demands ranged from the preservation of historic/public buildings, to the creation of urban gardening in public spaces, to the establishment of a power plant to produce local, ecological, economically available and sustainable heating for a specific neighborhood. Nonetheless, also general ideas such as the "possibility to shape the urban space/development", "participation in planning process" still play a definitive role throughout the general demands, characterizing thus the right to the city and its "collective of demands".

As well as in Recife, the enemies, difficulties and problems faced by urban social movements towards the right to the city refer mainly to different aspects/facets of the former antagonistic but now complementary two fronts that suppress the subject: on the one hand the forces of the state—municipal or national—absent/weak or hegemonic/authoritarian. On the other hand, the forces of the free market and the private sector. These fronts are in the form of privatization of public buildings, demolition of buildings, neoliberal city development, flagship projects (HafenCity), elitist renovation of the city, oppression of the socially vulnerable populations, as well as through the throwaway society of abundance.

The main differences between the empirical results obtained in Hamburg and those obtained in Recife refer to the intervening conditions, which in turn reflect the political, economic, social, and historical differences of these two urban contexts. On the one hand, the notion of "urban social movement" was widely spread into the ideal of urban activists in Recife. On the other hand, however, this notion was in Hamburg mainly substituted by the consciousness of legal forms to the constitution of groups of the civil

society, such as the "association" (Verein) or the "cooperative" (Genossenschaft)[109]. These bureaucratic and legal instruments directly influence the access to representativeness in relation to the political and economic powers at the municipal level in Hamburg. The mere fact that there is in Germany this easier accessibility to the legal and normative mechanisms that guarantee the possibility of representation and participation in the decision processes on urban politics, already reveals by itself the unequal character of globalization processes denounced by Santos (2010 and 2015 [2000]). In fact, one can say that the research spectrum in two urban contexts of completely different urban and historical development backgrounds reinforces also empirically the thesis on the dimension that globalization processes reached today. The differences between political systems and maturity of democratic organizations is the remarkably feature of a globalized world manifested by imperialism/colonialism heritage. Despite this organizational difference, the struggle of these urban groups in Hamburg tends to present the same characteristics of urban social movements in Recife. They are groups that fight for the right to the city and struggle for participation in the process of production of urban space through guidelines such as the maintenance of historic and listed buildings, the expansion of public spaces, parks, squares, and green areas, improving conditions of public and collective transportation, as well as the assurance on the right to housing for all. Another important similarity between intervene conditions in both empirical cases is the fact that most activists in Hamburg, as well as in Recife, are high qualified professionals from the most different backgrounds. From visual artists to film producers, from architects to engineers, these activists use and share their knowledge in a volunteer basis for the sake of group. A striking example was that of the Kebap e.V., where engineers and architects developed the concept of a complex project of a power plant for ecological and locally based heating production, in conjunction with other sustainability concepts such as urban gardening, photovoltaic solar system, irrigation systems and composting toilette.

With regard to tools and strategies of action, the only significant difference was that artistic performances did not play a central and definitive role in Hamburg as in Recife. The production of short movies and musical events is not as widespread as in the Brazilian city, where a network of independent filmmakers, designers, musicians and various artists have voluntarily engaged in the production of a wide range of artistic projects with reference to the struggle towards the right to the city. On the other hand, the offer of educational events as a strategy of action by social movements in Hamburg seems to be more common than in Recife. An important example were the workshops on sustainability issues by the Kebap e.V., or even projects, and the involvement of students from neighborhood schools near the social movements' sites of action. This can be a consequence of the accessibility to a high-quality inclusive education system

[109] It is important to emphasize that not all groups in Hamburg constitute legal associations or cooperatives.

that in Germany is not characterized by being as elitist as in Brazil. The questions concerning the walls between the demands of urban social movements and the academic environment—which was so striking in the empirical survey in Recife—had not even been a topic in Hamburg.

Finally, the central aspect of urban social movements' action towards the right to the city is repeated in Hamburg through the analysis of their aspirations and desires in opposition to what was indeed achieved. These groups pursue—through action in the present moment—to participate in the processes of production of urban space and the consequent construction of a fairer and more democratic urban society. Here, the idea of the "utopia of the present moment"—that was so characterizing throughout the research in Recife—could also be applied to activists of Hamburg, although it was not mentioned directly. Among others, these groups seek to contribute to sustainable shaping of the city, with democratic participation and involvement of all people, so they can decide in a more active manner about their own futures. Nevertheless, as well as in Recife, many of these aspirations are still far from being reached, since setbacks such as privatization of public spaces/buildings, demolition of historical/listed buildings, or police violent repression were also in Hamburg—unfortunately—reported. In this way, the action and existence of these groups—formal or informal set of people—becomes increasingly urgent for our contemporary globalized world, marked by the incessant urbanization of society.

Conclusion

The capitalist society of late modernity, as warned by Alain Touraine (2000), is characterized by a conflict in which the subject is placed in the middle of two fronts and therefore, oppressed by them. On the one hand, the oppressive forces of authoritarian and communitarian regimes, and on the other hand, the forces of market logics and technological improvement, which is driven by economic power. With the fall of communist regimes and the decline of the state economy based on Keynesianism, one believed that this conflict had been overcome by the supremacy of the market, represented in this case, by neoliberalism. However, it is enough to look at the rise of separatist and fascist movements in Europe, or the rise of nationalism and xenophobia in the United States, or even in Latin America, for example in Brazil—where a conservative and elitist wave marked by nationalism and xenophobia, has been the central point of a political, ethical, and economic crisis in the country—to conclude that the subject remains trapped by these two fronts.

In fact, one needs to comprehend these two fronts in a bilateral dialectical relationship, where both are the source of one another, as in a relation of cause and effect. If we consider the neoliberal project, for example, that had its maximum force between the 1990's and the first decade of the twenty-first century—fragmenting original forms of organization based on state power—it is verified that the ideology of the "free market" directs humanity for the confrontation of all against all. This *Bellum omnium contra omnes* (war of each against all), which Thomas Hobbes in Leviathan (1951) described as the natural state of human existence—and to which I strongly disagree—is synonymous to the war of places today, which in turn drives the return of ideologies such as separatists, hate speeches, or the simplistic political oppositions between right and left, which in reality represent only a contest for power. The cycle is thus completed with the return of authoritarian states, that just as market power, oppresses and isolates the subject.

These cycles, however, represent what George Monbiot (2017) calls as the power of narratives. "Those who tell the stories run the world" (ibid. p. 9). Monbiot believes that this cycle between the two sources of oppression of the subject described above tends to be reproduced with time, because it is given to these two sides the possibility of telling their narratives in order to convince that these are the best stories, and therefore, have the ability to replace the previous story. That is why simple stories like the "evil state and the liberating market" and vice versa are repeatedly told in the modern history of humanity. However, in the midst of these conflicts between good and evil, as has repeatedly been indicated throughout this thesis, is the subject, who has not yet completely achieved the capacity to develop its own history, which therefore would represent its liberation. One cannot beat another's story without submitting a new one. It is not enough to challenge an old narrative, however outdated and discredited it may

be, without replacing it with another. When the subject manages to develop the right story and learn to tell it clearly, this narrative will spread into people's minds and influence the entire political spectrum. The contemporary world, which has been dominated by urban environments, seems stable from the point of view of the simplistic narratives. However, this world is not immutable and is even falling apart, giving space to a new era that is announced as a possibility for the accomplishment of a new narrative (or a new restoration story, as stated by Monbiot) with the power of the liberation of the subject. It is necessary, therefore, that the subject takes advantage of this moment of collapse, crises, setbacks, and difficulties. If the systems that emerge from this rupture will be better or worse than the previous narratives depends—according to Monbiot (ibid.)—on our ability, that is, the subject's ability to tell a new restoration story, which is not only based on past errors but also lived/experienced in the present moment and at the same time oriented towards the future.

Taking into account that relations imposed by the process of planetary urbanization in the ongoing digital age also repeat the logic of the conflict between state power and market power—thus influencing the process of production of the urban space (Lefebvre 1991) and the constitution of social relations of space (Werlen 2007 and 2017)—the subject, through the efforts of new urban social movements, has been building its narrative of liberation. This process, however, as I could certify through the empirical research with urban social movements in Recife and Hamburg, is still being built at the present time. Therefore, the main thesis of this research presented in the introduction, is not only proved but also transformed: urban social movements are not only an active form of resistance, but rather a form of transcendence and transmutation of the neoliberal urbanization (current hegemonic narrative) towards the production and construction of new urban social-spatial relations according to their ambitions (new restoration story). In regard the current political and economic scenario, it was also empirically demonstrated that capitalism—in times of planetary urbanization—finds its most successful tool for maintenance of its mechanism of survival and self-replication and absorption of capital gains through the urbanization process. Recife and Hamburg presented uncountable examples of this mechanism, such as the flagship projects "Novo Recife" and "HafenCity" and several public buildings, spaces and assets that have been being privatized/commercialized and thus generating gentrification processes and other fragmenting phenomena in urban environment. However, as empirical research has also shown, the processes of urbanization in our globalized world could also induce one of the most fascinating features of the urban phenomenon, which is the diversity, resilience, and plurality that arise from human action, demonstrated in this research through urban social movements. The use of the most varied and creative artistic manifestations, as well as the most refined and current scientific knowledge, illustrates the wide range of strategies of these groups and urban social movements in the struggle towards more democratic urban societies both in Recife and in Hamburg.

Thus, a great part of these social movements understood that it is not enough to combat the vengeful hegemonic narrative, as it was done in the past, which practically represents the action of the political left today in Brazil or in Germany. These movements, therefore, understood that it is necessary for them to write their *own* history and are claiming for their emancipation in relation to the two fronts of oppression, the power of the state and the power of the market; they are claiming autonomy over their own lives in the present moment. There are different situations in which this is already happening in contemporary urban struggles; ranging from more specific guidelines, to the more general topics. Common to both cases, however, is that the idea of the "right to the city" (Lefebvre 1968) begins to be characterized as a collector and vehicle of these ideals that will compose the new narrative.

Whether in Recife or in Hamburg; whether by struggling for the preservation of public buildings or spaces for common and non-commercial use for all; whether to fight for decent housing; whether to demand for leisure, art, and culture opportunities in public life; whether by questioning the legitimacy of private property and requiring participation in planning processes; or whether to take ownership of the logic of energy or food production. All in all, these strategies and struggles represent the emergence and origin of a new story; it is a narrative that represents the utopia of the present moment, which was repeatedly mentioned throughout this research.

Considering that the method used to interpret the data obtained through observations and interviews proposes the elaboration of a narrative— composed by the substantive theories that arose through the application of the tool known as theoretical coding—it seems plausible that this was the right method chosen for the present research. The conclusive substantive theories, which refers now to both empirical cases from this scientific effort, are then now orderly presented as an attempt to provide scientific input to the narrative construction that these social movements are already undertaking beyond the academic understanding:

- Contemporary urban social movements arise through the perspective centered on the subject; either through the approach of the subject within the scope of collective social action and the action itself, as the vehicle for the constitution of everyday regionalizations, that is, of the social relations of space (Werlen 2007, 2017); or through the approach of centralization of the subject (Touraine 1994) and its will of freedom and liberation;

- The existence of contemporary urban social movements presupposes the existence of a central conflict in society;

- The central conflict of contemporary society concerns the pressure on the subject, that on the one hand, is caused by communitarian regimes, which suppress heterogeneities and singularities, and on the other hand, by the

homogenizing power of neoliberal market logic. Concerning urban spaces, these two forces are represented by the state that progressively neglects its role of organizing society, and the private hand of the market, which decides through mechanisms, such as private property, consumption, and speculation, how urban life will be shaped.

- Public space and public life, that is, the possibilities for heterogeneous exchanges and encounters in the real public sphere, constitute, even today—with the ongoing digital revolution—one of the main objectives of urban social movements.
- Internet tools, such as digital social networks, are therefore considered only as means to achieve the desired goals, however important they may be.
- The right to the city is a vehicle with the power to aggregate different urban demands, and therefore, has the ability to make the narratives and subjectivities proposed by social movements more tangible and approachable.
- The network organization, as well as the mutual support between the groups and initiatives, are important tools in the constitution of this narrative.
- Art and culture are a means and purpose in the construction of new narratives and subjectivities, and therefore instrumental in changing the perceptions of the world.
- Art is thus capable of changing the perception of the city and its spaces through a non-linear and unlimited relationship with its objects. Artists involved with socially engaged art do not see themselves as creators of objects and do not want to produce anything that can be hung on the wall or be sold at an auction. Their art seeks the "here and now" and the physical/corporeal experience becomes more important than visual observation. It is, therefore, a field of disputes of subjectivities through which other languages, other than the language of art, could not be expressed.
- Audiovisual cinematographic production is the most important artistic tool in the action of urban social movements due to the wealth of information that this medium can provide. Thus, creativity, inventiveness and political-social engagement are the necessary propellant to produce short films or documentaries, even without the necessary financial resources.
- Fluidity and impermanence of complicity relations are dialectically related to permanent or long-lasting relationships, depending on the specific objectives to be achieved.

- The actions and strategies of urban social movements in contemporary times are based on the here and now.
- Social movements do not want to be governed or to be ruled by any supremacy dimension. These urban social movements in contemporary times seek for emancipation, and therefore, demand the power of participation in the decision-making processes related to their own lives in urban environments.
- The existence of a certain "utopia of the present moment" feeds the dreams and aspirations of urban social movements. Therefore, cities have always been the places of origin of social utopias that allow people to experiment with other models and possibilities of life. Utopia is here conceived as "u topos", which have always been constitutive for urban life, not only as *another place*, but also as the *place of the other* (Nancy 2004, p. 26 as cited in Ziemer 2016, p. 313).
- The processes of globalization present themselves as a perversity (Santos 2015 [2000]) in relation to processes of contemporary urbanization, according to the logic of capitalist development, which has its origins at the practices of colonialism and imperialism.
- Due to the omnipresence of the processes of globalization, the action of urban social movements is permeated through dialectical relations between the global and the local scales.
- Contemporary urban social movements are looking for a new restoration story that can give an account of the current problems of the world according to their perceptions and personal cognitive constructions.

These general substantive theories culminate in the elaboration of the narrative that I decided to support with the idea conceived by Milton Santos in his theorizing about globalization (Santos 2015 [2000]). When Santos referred to the process of globalization as a possibility, he alluded to another possible world, and this world would be marked by what he decided to call as the popular period of the human history. This period—making an analogy to the possible narrative construction of urban social movements—is characterized by optimism as the possibility of thinking of another world in which actions are more inclusive, affective and generous, permeated by another time based on other values, other means, and other purposes. This new world and period is already announced—according to the urban social movements themselves—as a project in which people would be the main concern, which is, according to Santos (2015 [2000], p. 149), an authentic popular period of history, already interspersed with fragmentations and sensible particularities everywhere due to human action.

The new social landscape would result from the abandonment and overcome of the current model and its substitution by another, capable of guaranteeing for the greatest

part of humanity the satisfaction of essential needs for dignified human life, relegating to a secondary position fabricated needs, imposed through advertising and conspicuous consumption. Thus, social interest would supplant the current precedence of economic interest and would both lead to a new investment agenda and a new hierarchy of public, business, and private expenditures.

Finally, the actors who will lead this period, or this new narrative, are the social actors from below, of which social movements are a reliable portrait. The poor in each of their countries, and the poor countries in the face of unfair global relationships with rich countries. It is, therefore, a period marked by solidarity relations, on the global and local scales. It is also a process that is not linear and progressive, nor synchronized, as we already witnessed with diverse social movements spread throughout the world and increasingly active in this second decade of the third millennium. The struggles are sometimes silent, for others not so much. There are explosions, conflicts and strife here and there, and riots in different moments and different places. But all these dynamics is leading us to the constitution of another narrative.

To achieve these objectives, however, there must be—in my personal point of view after everything I've had experienced throughout the empiric research—a pact of cooperation between the scientific/academic sphere and the ordinary people. I believe that science could get into this narrative with the potential to cooperate for the emergence of another possible world. Thus, it is necessary to join the call, especially for the social sciences, that should be preferably focused on the dimension of practical action and the real world. This is the reason why I see with critical eyes the assumptions of scientific neutrality in our days. Should scientific knowledge be a privilege of political sphere to be applied? And what about the civil society? Politics have been giving enough proof—both in authoritarian regimes and neoliberal states—that it is not capable to solves people's problem. Therefore, contemporary urban social movements are not willing to wait/expect something from the politics (or even from the market forces) and are thus reclaiming the power of control and decision regarding their own lives in urban environments. Thus, to what extent can scientific knowledge remain neutral and wait to be applied by political power?

A good example of the academic contribution in the sense of the practical action is the initiative for an International Year of Global Understanding that in the year 2016 addressed worldwide how we as individuals transform and shape our relationships with space and society. The central objective of this project, which was characterized by the realization of various educational and informational events in the field of practical action, was the promotion of a better understanding of the global impact of local actions to stimulate innovative policies that respond to the global challenges, such as the urban problems of the great metropolises of the world.

Therefore, by joining efforts between science—which as I recurrently affirmed throughout this thesis, needs to redirect its focus towards the field of cognizability—and the social movements, we will be able to produce a new restoration story that will liberate us of the rules dictated by authoritarian regimes and the power of the state, or by the power of the capital and the "free" market. These supremacies had set us apart, atomized society, alienated us from our labor, from each other, from ourselves, from the natural world, and, therefore, created a society of loneliness which is devastating to our political, social, and mental health.

Hence, by following the suggestion of Monbiot (2017) to create a restoration story, by coming together, creating affective, generous, and inclusive communities, we can thus build a politics of belonging, reclaiming political and economic power that has been taken from us. In doing so, we would be able to create/restore engaged, generous, inclusive and powerful cities, made for the people and by the people.

Bibliography

Araújo, Mayara M. Sena (2015): A produção do espaço e a questão habitacional: o programa "Minha Casa, Minha Vida" em Feira de Santana. Tese de Doutorado. Salvador: UFBA.

Arendt, Hannah (1972): La crise de la culture. Paris: Idées/Gallimard.

Ashworth, G. J. & Voogd, H. (1990): Selling the city: marketing approaches in public sector urban planning. London: Belhaven Press.

Atkinson, R. (2003): Misunderstood saviour or vengeful wrecker? The many meanings and problems of gentrification. In *Urban Studies* 40 (12), pp. 2343–2350.

Bailly, Antoine S. (1992): Encyclopédie de géographie. Paris: Economica.

Bartik, T. J. (2005): Solving the problems of economic development incentives. In *Growth and Change* 36 (2), pp. 139–166.

Baumgartner, Wendel Henrique (2009): O direito à natureza na cidade. Salvador: EdUfba.

Bauman, Zygmunt (1998): Globalização. As conseqüências humanas. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Becker Tobias; Voigt, Claudia. (2017): Chancenviertel: Lokalpatriotismus. In *Der Spiegel*, 25/2017, pp. 18-22.

Benjamin, Walter (1975): O narrador. In: Benjamin, W., Horkheimer, M.; Adorno, T.; Habermas, J. *Os pensadores*. p. 63-85. São Paulo: Victor Civita.

Berger, Peter L.; Luckmann, Thomas (1967): The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge. New York: Anchor Books.

Berman, Marshall (2000): Robert Moses: the expressway world. In: Miles, Malcolm; Hall, Tim; Borden, Iain. *The city cultures reader*. pp. 297-302. London: Routledge.

Bernt, Matthias; Grell, Britta; Holm, Andrej (2014): Berlin Reader. A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag

Blakely, Edward J.; Snyder, Mary Gail. (1999): Fortress America. Gated communities in the United States. Washington/Cambridge: Brookings Institute Press & Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Böhm, Andreas (2017): Theoretisches Codieren: Textanalyse in der Grounded Theory. In Flick, Uwe; Kardorff, Ernst von; Steinke, Ines (Eds.). *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.

Brenner, Neil; Marcuse, Peter; Mayer, Margit (2009): Cities for people, not for profit. Critical urban theory and the right to the city. London: Routledge.

Brenner N., & Theodore, N. (2002): Cities and the geographies of "actually existing neoliberalism". In Brenner N., & Theodore, N. (Eds.). *Spaces of neoliberalism: Urban restructuring in North America and Western Europe.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Brito, F. M. da S.; Farage, E.; Pereira, G. S. (2015): Movimentos sociais urbanos e o direito à cidade: a experiência do MTST na conquista e ampliação da política pública de direito à moradia. In *Anais do 3. Encontro Internacional de Política Social / 10. Encontro Nacional de Política Social.* Volume Único, pp. 1–17.

Buhr, Manfred; Kosing, Alfred (1982): Kleines Wörterbuch der Marxistisch-Leninistischen Philosophie. Berlin: Dietz Verlag.

Burr, Vivien (1995): Social Constructionism. London: Routledge.

Cabral, F. J. G. (2012): História da escravidão em Pernambuco. Recife: EdUfpe.

Caldeira, T. P. (2003): Cidade de muros: crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo. São Paulo: Edusp.

Carlos, Ana Fani Alessandri (1997): A construção de uma "nova urbanidade". In Silva, J. B.; Costa, M. C.; Dantas, E. W. (Eds.). *A cidade e o urbano.* pp. 199–212. Fortaleza: EdUFC.

Castells, Manuel (1976): Theoretical Proposition for an Experimental Study of Urban Social Movements. In Christopher Pickvance (Ed.). *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays.* pp. 147-173. London: Tavistock.

Castells, Manuel (1980): Cidade, democracia e socialismo: a experiência das associações de vizinhos de Madri. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Castells, Manuel (1983a): A questão urbana. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Castells, Manuel (1983b): The city and the grassroots. A cross-cultural theory of urban social movements. London: Arnold.

Castells, Manuel (1996): The rise of the network society. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell

Castells, Manuel (1999): Grassrooting the space of flows. In *Urban Geography* 20 (4) (May-June), pp. 294–302.

Castells, Manuel (2001): The Internet Galaxy. Reflections on the internet, business, and society. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Castells, Manuel (2013): Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Charmaz, K. (2009): A construção da teoria fundamentada: guia prático para a análise qualitativa. Trad. de Joice Elias Costa. Porto Alegre: Artmed.

Chomsky, Noam (2012): Occupy. London: Penguin Books.

Ciccolella, Pablo (2010): Metropolis y desarrollo urbano más allá de la globalización: hacia una geografia crítica de la ciudade latinoamericana. In *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografia y Ciencias Sociales* XIV - 331 (2), Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona.

Ciccolella, Pablo (2014): Metrópolis Latinoamericanas: más allá de la globalización. Buenos Aires: Café De Las Ciudades

Clark, E. (2005): The order and simplicity of gentrification: a political challenge. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.). *Gentrification in a global context: the new urban colonialism*, (pp. 256-264). London: Routledge.

Clarke, J. (2004): Dissolving the public realm? The logics and limits of neoliberalism. In *Journal of Social Policy* 33 (1), pp. 27–48.

Costa, Gustavo Paccelli (2013): Movimentos sociais e democracia: reflexões contemporâneas sobre o ativismo social. Juiz de Fora: UFJF.

Creswell, J. W. (2014): Investigação qualitativa e projeto de pesquisa: escolhendo entre cinco abordagens. São Paulo: Penso Editora.

Dangschat, Jens (1996): Raum als Dimension sozialer Ungleichheit und Ort als Bühne der Lebensstilisierung? - Zum Raumbezug sozialer Ungleichheiten und von Lebensstilen. In Schwenk, Otto G. *Lebensstil zwischen Sozialstrukturanalyse und Kulturwissenschaft*. Band 7. Opladen pp. 99-135.

Davis, Mike (1992): City of Quartz. Excavating the future in Los Angeles. New York: Vintage Books.

Denzin, N. K.; Lincoln, Y. S. (2003): Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Dey, I. (1999): Grounding grounded theory: guidelines for qualitative inquiry. San Diego: Academic Press.

Dyck, I. (2001): Qualitative Methods in Geography. In N. J. Smelser P. B. Baltes (Eds.). *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*. pp. 12618-12620. London: Pergamon.

Easterlin, R., (1974): Does economic growth improve the human lot? Some empirical evidence. In David, P. & Reder, M. (Eds.). *Nations and Households in Economic Growth: Essays in Honor of Moses Abramowitz*. pp. 89-125. New York: Academic Press Inc.

Edelenbos, J. & Teisman, G. R. (2008): Public-private partnership: on the edge of project and process management. Insights from Dutch practice: the Sijtwende spatial development project. In *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 26 (3), pp. 614–626.

Fernandes, Hiram S. (2012): A relação entre as identidades territoriais e a "nova urbanidade": o caso das manifestações identitárias dos grupos de motociclistas em Salvador, Bahia. Dissertação de Mestrado. Salvador: UFBA.

Flick, U.; Kardorff, E. v.; Steinke, I. (Eds.). (2017): Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch.. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.

Florida, R. (2005): Cities and the creative class. New York: Routledge.

Freitas, A.S. (2005): Fundamentos para uma sociologia crítica da formação humana: Um estudo sobre o papel das redes associacionistas. Tese de Doutorado. Recife: UFPE.

Friedmann, J. (1986): The world city hypothesis. In *Development and Change* 17 (1), pp. 69–83.

Friedmann, J. (2002): The prospect of cities. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gebhardt, Dirk; Holm, Andrej (2011): Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt. In: Holm, Andrej; Gebhardt, Dirk. (Eds.): *Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt: Theorie und Praxis städtischer Aneignungen.* Hamburg: VSA.

Gebhardt, H. et al. (Eds.) (2011): Geographie: Physische Geographie und Humangeographie. Heidelberg: Spektrum Akad. Verlag.

Gergen, K. J. (1985): The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology. In *American Psychologist* (40), pp. 266–275.

Gergen, K. J. (1999): An invitation to Social Construction. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Giddens, Anthony (1984): The constitution of Society. Outline of the theory of Structuration. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giovannetti, Gilberto; Lacerda, Madalena (1998): Melhoramentos Dicionario de Geografia. Termos, Expressões, Conceitos. 2. Ed. São Paulo: Melhoramentos.

Glaser, B.; Strauss, A. (1967): The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative reserach. Chicago, New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Glasersfeld, E. v. (1992): Aspekte des Konstruktivismus: Vico, Berkley, Piaget. In Rusch, G. & Schmidt, S. J. (Eds.). *Konstruktivismus: Geschichte und Anwendung.* pp. 20-33. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Gomes, Paulo César da Costa (2002): A condição urbana: ensaios de geopolítica da cidade. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.

Gregory, D. et al (Eds.) (2009): The dictionary of human geography. Malden: Blackwell.

Guerra, A. T.; Guerra, A. J. T. (1997): Novo dicionário geológico-geomorfológico. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.

Hackworth, Jason R. (2010): The neoliberal city. Governance, ideology, and development in American urbanism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hartke, Wolfgang (1956): Die „Sozialbrache" als Phänomen der geographischen Differenzierung der Landschaft. In *Erdkunde* 10 (4), pp. 257-269.

Hartke, Wolfgang (1962): Die Bedeutung der geographischen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart. In *Tagungsberichte und Abhandlungen des 33. Deutschen Geographentages in Köln*, pp. 113-131.

Harvey, David (1973): Social justice and the city. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

Harvey, David (1982): The limits to Capital. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, David (1985a): Consciousness and the urban experience. Oxford: Blackwell

Harvey, David (1985b): The urbanization of capital. Oxford: Blackwell

Harvey, David (1989): The condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, David (1998): Condição pós-moderna. Uma pesquisa sobre as origens da mudança cultural. 7. ed. São Paulo: Ed. Loyola.

Harvey, David (2001): Spaces of capital. Towards a critical geography. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press.

Harvey, David (2003): Paris, capital of modernity. New York: Routledge.

Harvey, David (2005): The new imperialism. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Harvey, David (2006): Spaces of hope. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press.

Harvey, David (2008): The Right to the City. In *New Left Review* (53) (sept. - oct), pp. 23–40.

Harvey, David (2011): A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Harvey, David (2012a): Rebel cities. From the right to the city to the urban revolution. London: Verso.

Harvey, David (2012b): Os rebeldes na rua. o Partido de Wall Street encontra sua nêmesis. In *Occupy. Movimentos de protesto que tomaram as ruas.* pp. 57-64. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

Holm, Andrej (2013): Wir bleiben alle! Gentrifizierung - städtische Konflikte um Aufwertung und Verdrängung. Münster: Unrast.

Holm, Andrej (2014a): Mietenwahnsinn. Warum Wohnen immer teurer wird und wer davon profitiert. München: Droemer Knaur.

Holm, Andrej (2014b): Reclaim Berlin. Soziale Kämpfe in der neoliberalen Stadt. Berlin, Hamburg: Assoziation A.

Holm, Andrej; Gebhardt, Dirk (Eds.) (2011): Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt. Theorie und Praxis städtischer Aneignungen. Hamburg: VSA-Verlag.

Hopf, Christel (2017): Qualitative Interviews: ein Überblick. In Flick, Uwe; Kardorff, Ernst von; Steinke, Ines (Eds.). *Qualitative Forschung - ein Handbuch*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag

Jacobs, Jane (1992 [1961]): The death and life of great American cities. New York: Vintage Books.

Jovchelovich, S., Bauer, M. W. (2002): Entrevista Narrativa. In Bauer, M. W. *Pesquisa qualitativa com texto, imagem e som: um manual prático*. pp. 90-113. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Kent, R. K. (1965): Palmares: an African State in Brazil. In *The Journal of African History* 6 (2), pp. 161–175.

Knox, Paul L.; Marston, Sallie A.; Pretes, Michael (2010): Human geography. Places and regions in global context. 5. ed. Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Knox, Paul L.; Pinch, Steven (2007): Urban social geography. An introduction. 5. ed. Harlow: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Lakatos, Eva Maria; Marconi, Marina de Andrade. (2000): Metodologia científica. 3. ed. São Paulo: Atlas.

Lefebvre, Henri (1966): Le language et la societé. Paris: Gallimard.

Lefebvre, Henri (1968): Le droit à la ville. Paris: Anthropos.

Lefebvre, Henri (1970): La révolution urbaine. Paris: Gallimard.

Lefebvre, Henri (1972 [1968]): Das Alltagsleben in der modernen Welt. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Lefebvre, Henri (1972): Die Revolution der Städte. München: List.

Lefebvre, Henri (1975): De lo rural a lo urbano. Barcelona: Peninsula.

Lefebvre, Henri (1991a): The production of space. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri (1991b): A vida cotidiana no mundo moderno. São Paulo: Ática.

Lefebvre, Henri (2003 [1970]): The urban revolution. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, Henri (2004): Rhythmanalysis. Space, time and everyday life. London: Continuum.

Lefebvre, Henri (2008): O direito à cidade. 5. ed. São Paulo: Centauro Editora.

Lefebvre, Henri (2013): La producción del espacio. Madrid: Capitán Swing.

Leitão, Lúcia (2009): Quando o ambiente é hostil. Uma leitura urbanística da violência à luz de Sobrados e Mucambos e outros ensaios Gilbertianos. Recife: EdUfpe.

Leite, Francisco (2015): Raciocínio e procedimentos da Grounded Theory construtivista. In *Questões Transversais - Revista de Epistemologias da Comunicação* Vol. 3 (6), pp. 76–85.

Leitner, H. et al. (2007): Contesting urban futures: decentering neoliberalism. In Leitner, H.; Peck, J.; Sheppard, E. S. (Eds.). *Contesting neoliberalism: urban frontiers.*, New York, London: The Guilford Press.

Low, Setha (2003): Behind the gates. Life, security, and the pursuit of happiness in fortress America. New York, London: Routledge.

Luhmann, Niklas (1996): Protest. Systemtheorie und soziale Bewegungen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Lüdke, M. & André, M. (1986): Pesquisa em educação: abordagens qualitativas. São Paulo: EPU.

Malet, Henri (1973): Le baron Haussmann et la rénovation de Paris. Paris: Ed. Municipales.

Manzini, E. J. (2004): Entrevista: definição e classificação. Marília: EdUnesp.

Marcuse, Peter (1997): The enclave, the citadel, and the ghetto: What has changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City? In *Urban Affairs Review* 33 (2), pp. 228–264.

Marcuse, Peter (Ed.) (2009): Searching for the just city. Debates in urban theory and practice. Oxford: Routledge.

Marcuse, Peter; van Kempen, Ronald. (Eds.) (1999): Globalizing Cities. A New Spatial Order? New York: Blackwell Publishers.

Marx, Karl (1867): Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Bd. 1. Hamburg: Otto Meissner.

Matias, Keidy Narelly Costa (2016): Henri Lefebvre e a dialética da tríade: considerações sobre a produção social do espaço. In *NORUS - Novos rumos sociológicos* 4 (N. 6), pp. 155–165.

Mayer, Margit (2007): Contesting the neoliberalization of urban governance. In Leitner, Helga; Peck, Jamie; Sheppard, Eric S. *Contesting neoliberalism: urban frontiers.* pp. 90-115, New York, London: The Guilford Press.

Mayer, Margit (2011): Recht auf die Stadt Bewegungen in historisch und räumlich vergleichender Perspektive. In: Holm, Andrej; Gebhardt, Dirk. (Eds.): *Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt: Theorie und Praxis städtischer Aneignungen*. Hamburg: VSA.

McCann, E. (2011): Urban policy mobility and global circuits of knowledge. In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101 (1), pp. 107–130.

Melucci, Alberto (1989): Um objetivo para os movimentos sociais? In *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política* s/v (17), pp. 49–66.

Mengay, A.; Pricelius, M. (2011): Das umkämpfte Recht auf Stadt in Brasilien: die institutionalisierte Form der „Stadt Statute" und die Praxis der urbanen Wohnungslosenbewegung des MSTS. In Holm, A.; Gebhardt, D. (Eds.). *Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt: Theorie und Praxis städtischer Aneignungen*. pp. 245 - 270. Hamburg: VSA.

Merrifield, Andy (2011): The right to the city and beyond. Notes on a Lefebvrean re-conceptualization. In *City* 15 (3-4), pp. 473–481.

Merrifield, Andy (2013): The politics of the encounter. Urban theory and protest under planetary urbanization. Athens GA: University of Georgia Press

Meyer-Kriesten, Kerstin et al. (2004): Wandel der Stadtstruktur in Lateinamerika. In *Geographische Rundschau* 56 (6), pp. 30–36.

Minayo, M. C. S. (2012): Análise qualitativa: teoria, passos e fidedignidade. In *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva* 17(3), pp. 621–626.

Monbiot, George (2017): Out of the wreckage: A new politics for an age of crisis. London: Verso.

Moraine, Sunny (2011): "Mic check!": #occupy, technology, and the amplified voice. In Cyborgology - The Society Pages. Available online at: https://thesocietypages.org/cyborgology/2011/10/06/mic-check-occupy-technology-the-amplified-voice/ Checked on 7th Juni 2018.

Mullis, Daniel (2013a): Die postdemokratische Stadt zwischen Politisierung und Kontinuität. Oder, ist die Stadt jemals demokratisch gewesen? In *sub\urban. Zeitschrift für kritische Stadtforschung* 2013 (2), pp. 79–100.

Mullis, Daniel (2013b): Recht auf die Stadt. Facetten und Möglichkeiten einer Parole. In *Emanzipation* 3(2), pp. 57–70.

Mullis, Daniel (2014): Recht auf die Stadt. Von Selbstverwaltung und radikaler Demokratie. Münster: Unrast.

Mullis, Daniel (2015): Demonstrieren! Blockieren! Okkupieren! Blockupy Frankfurt und die Produktion des Politischen. In *Europa Regional* 23(1), pp. 20–32.

Mullis, Daniel (2016): Durch Athen auf Frankfurt blicken ‚Austerity Urbanism', Uneven Development und Alltäglichkeit. Reflektionen aus zwei Workshops. In *sub\urban. Zeitschrift für kritische Stadtforschung* 4 (2/3), pp. 303–312.

Muylaert, C. J.; et al. (2014): Entrevistas narrativas: um importante recurso em pesquisa qualitativa. In *Revista da Escola de Enfermagem da USP* 48 (2), pp. 193–199.

O'Neill, P.; McGuirk, P. (2014): Qualitative methods in socio-spatial research. In R.J. Stimson (Eds.) *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications in Spatially Integrated Social Science*. pp. 177–191. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Pedrosa, Mariana (2016): Recife, stolen city. Recife: Issuu.

Pessoa, Marlos de B. (2003): Formação de uma variedade urbana e semi-oralidade: o caso do Recife, Brasil. Tübingen: Max-Niemeyer Verlag.

Rauterberg, Hanno (2016): Wir sind die Stadt! Urbanes Leben in der Digitalmoderne. 4. Auflage. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Reuber, P.; Pfaffenbach, C. (2005): Methoden der empirischen Humangeographie. Beobachtungen und Befragung. Braunschweig: Westermann.

Rocha, Maria Eduarda Mota da (2014): O "Ocupe Estelita" e a "nova política". In *El País Brasil*, 10th November 2014. Available online at: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2014/11/10/opinion/1415574846_646558.html Checked on 25th November 2017

Rocha, Maria Eduarda Mota da (2015): Ocupe Estelita e a "sociedade de muros". In *El País Brasil*, 25th May of 2015. Available online at: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/05/25/politica/1432560448_510212.html Checked on 15th June 2018.

Roitman, S.; Webster, C.; Landman, K. (2010): Methodological frameworks and interdisciplinary research on gated communities. In *International Planning Studies* 15 (1), pp. 3–23.

Rossi, Ugo (2017): Cities in Global Capitalism. Newark: Polity Press.

Sager, Tore (2011): Neo-liberal urban planning policies: a literature survey 1990-2010. In *Progress in Planning* (76), pp. 147–199.

Sahr, Wolf-Dietrich (2000): Benno Werlen no contexto da geografia internacional. In Sahr, Wolf-Dietrich (Ed.). *Por uma Geografia Social das regionalizações cotidianas: Benno Werlen e a Geografia*. pp. 7–20. Curitiba: UFPR.

Santos, Milton (1997): La nature de l'espace. Technique et temps, raison et émotion. Paris: Éd. L'Harmattan.

Santos, Milton (2008): Por uma geografia nova. Da crítica da geografia a uma geografia crítica. São Paulo: Edusp.

Santos, Milton (2009): Pobreza urbana. São Paulo: Edusp.

Santos, Milton (2010): A urbanização desigual. A especificidade do fenômeno urbano em países subdesenvolvidos. São Paulo: Edusp.

Santos, Milton (2015 [2000]): Por uma outra globalização: do pensamento único à consciência universal. 25. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Record.

Sassen, Saskia (1991): The Global City. New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schäfer, Christoph (2004): The city is unwritten. Urban experiences and thoughts seen through Park Fiction. In *Belltown Paradise: the Belltown P-Patch, Cottage Park, Growing Vine Street, Buster Simpson; Making Their Own Plans: City Repair, Resource Center, Park Fiction, Can Masdeu*. pp. 38–51. Chicago: Ill.

Schmid, Christian (2005): Stadt, Raum und Gesellschaft. Henri Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes. Stuttgart: Steiner (Sozialgeographische Bibliothek, 1).

Schmid, Christian (2012a): A teoria da produção do espaço de Henri Lefebvre: em direção a uma dialética tridimensional. In *GEOUSP - espaço e tempo* (32), pp. 89–109.

Schmid, Christian (2012b): Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city, and the new metropolitan mainstream. In Brenner, Neil; Marcuse Peter; Mayer, Margit. *Cities for people, not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*. pp. 42–62. London: Routledge.

Schütz, Alfred (1971): Gesammelte Aufsätze. Bd. 1 - Das Problem der sozialen Wirklichkeit. Den Haag: Nijhoff.

Selltiz, Claire et al. (1976) Research methods in social relations. 3. ed. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.

Sennett, Richard (1976): The Fall of Public Man. New York, London: W.W. Norton.

Serpa, Angelo (2005): Por uma geografia das representações sociais. In *OLAM - Ciência e Tecnologia* (Vol 5 - N. 1), pp. 220–232.

Serpa, Angelo (2007): O espaço público na cidade contemporânea. São Paulo: Contexto.

Serpa, Angelo (2011): Lugar e mídia. São Paulo: Contexto.

Severien, P. L. (2018): Cinema de ocupação: uma cartografia da produção audiovisual engajada na luta pelo direito à cidade no Recife. Dissertação de Mestrado. Recife: UFPE

Siebel, Walter; Wehrheim, Jan (2003): Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit in der überwachten Stadt. In *DISP* 153, pp. 4–12.

Silva, Kalina V.; Silva, M. H. (2005): Dicionário de conceitos históricos. São Paulo: Contexto.

Smith, Neil (1996): The new urban frontier. Gentrification and the revanchist city. London: Routledge.

Smith, Neil; Katz, Cindi (2000): Globalización. Transformaciones urbanas, precarización social y discriminación de género. La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna.

Smith, Neil; Williams, Peter (1986): Gentrification of the city. London: Routledge

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de (2001): The Brazilian way of conquering the right to the city. In *DISP* 147, pp. 33–45.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de (2007): Social movements as 'critical urban planning' agents: together with the state, despite the state, against the state. In *City* v. 10 (3), pp. 327-342.

Souza, Marcelo J. Lopes de (2008a): ABC do desenvolvimento urbano. 4. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.

Souza, Marcelo J. Lopes de (2008b): Fobópole. O medo generalizado e a militarização da questão urbana. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.

Souza, Marcelo J. Lopes de (2009): Cities for people, not for profit: from a radical-libertarian and Latin-American perspective. In *City* v. 13 (4), pp. 484–492.

Souza, Marcelo J. Lopes de (2010): Which right to the city? In defense of political-strategic clarity. Response to David Harvey. In *Interface* 2 (1), pp. 315–333.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de (2012): Panem et circensis versus the right to the city (centre) in Rio de Janeiro. A short report. In *City* v. 16, pp. 563–572.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de (2015): From the "Right to the City" to the right to the planet. Reinterpreting our contemporary challenges for socio-spatial development. In *City* v. 19, pp. 408–443.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de; Lipietz, Barbara (2013): NGOs and social movements. Convergences and divergences. In *City* v. 17, pp. 258–261.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de; Rodrigues, Glauco Bruce (2004): Planejamento urbano e ativismos sociais. São Paulo: EdUnesp.

Soto, William Héctor Gómez (2013): O pensamento crítico de Henri Lefebvre. In *Revista Espaço Acadêmico* - Maringá - Vol. 1 (140).

Spósito, Eliseu Savério (2004): Geografia e Filosofia. Contribuição para o ensino do pensamento geográfico. São Paulo: EdUnesp.

Strauss, A. (1987): Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. Cambridge: University Press.

Suchy, Juliane (2017): Nachhaltigkeit als Rechtfertigungsstrategie spät-moderner Konsummuster? Eine sozialgeographische Analyse zum Verhältnis von Nachhaltigkeit, Konsum und Räumlichkeit. Dissertation. FSU Jena.

Tarozzi, M. (2011): O que é Grounded Theory? Metodologia de pesquisa e teoria fundamentada nos dados. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Tedesco, Marina Cavalcanti (2013) Grassroots activist video documentary in Brazil and the construction of new cultural identities: the case of the Homeless Workers Movement. In *Social Identities*, v. 19 (3-4), pp. 371-385.

Thompson, M. (2005): Review - A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Retrieved from http://rebels-library.org/files/d3Thompson-1.pdf.

Thörn, Håkan; Mayer, Margit; Thörn, Catharina (2016): Re-thinking urban social movements, 'riots' and uprisings: an introduction. In Mayer, Margit et al. (2016). *Urban uprisings: challenging neoliberal urbanism in Europe.* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Touraine, Alain (1994): Crítica da modernidade. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Touraine, Alain (2000): Can we live together? Equality and difference. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Touraine, Alain (2006): Na fronteira dos movimentos sociais. In *Sociedade e Estado* 21 (1), pp. 17–28.

Tschorn, Lisa; Carstensen-Egwuom, Inken (2014): Postkoloniale Stadtforschung: Reflektionen über einen Workshop. In *Feministisches Geo-RundMail. Informationen rund um feministische Geographie.* N. 61 (Okt. 2014). pp. 8-13.

Tuan, Yi-Fu (2005): Paisagens do medo. São Paulo: EdUnesp.

Turner, R. S. (2002): The politics of design and development in the postmodern downtown. In *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24 (5), pp. 533–548.

Twickel, Christoph (2010): Gentrifidingsbums: Oder eine Stadt für alle. Hamburg: Nautilus Flugschrift.

Veras, Lúcia Maria de Siqueira Cavalcanti (2014): Paisagem-postal: a imagem e a palavra na compreensão de um Recife urbano. Tese de Doutorado. Recife: UFPe

Werlen, Benno (1993): Society action and space. An alternative human geography. London, New York: Routledge.

Werlen, Benno (1995): Sozialgeographie alltäglicher Regionalisierungen Bd. 1: Zur Ontologie von Gesellschaft und Raum. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Werlen, Benno (2000a): Regionalismo e sociedade política. Trad. Rogério Haesbaert. In *GEOgraphia* (Ano II - N. 4), p. 7-25. Niterói: EdUFF.

Werlen, Benno (2000b): The Social and the Spatial in the Globalization Processes. In Sahr, Wolf-Dietrich (Ed.). *Por uma Geografia Social das regionalizações cotidianas: Benno Werlen e a Geografia*, p. 20–46. Curitiba: UFPR.

Werlen, Benno (2004): The making of globalized everyday geographies. In Baerenholdt, J. O., Simonsen, K. (Eds.). *Space Odysseys*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Werlen, Benno (2007): Sozialgeographie alltäglicher Regionalisierungen Bd. 2: Globalisierung, Region und Regionalisierung. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Werlen, Benno (2008): Sozialgeographie. Eine Einführung. Bern: Paul Haupt.

Werlen, Benno (2009a): Everyday Regionalizations. In Kitchin, R.; Thrift, N. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Amsterdam, London, Oxford: Elsevier.

Werlen, Benno (2009b): Zur Räumlichkeit des Gesellschaftlichen: Alltägliche Regionalisierungen. In Hey, M. and K. Engert (Eds.). *Komplexe Regionen – Regionenkomplexe. Multiperspektivische Ansätze zur Beschreibung regionaler und urbaner Dynamiken*. p. 99–118. Wiesbaden: VS.

Werlen, Benno (2010): Gesellschaftliche Räumlichkeit 2: Konstruktion geographischer Wirklichkeiten. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Werlen, Benno (2013): Gesellschaft und Raum. Gesellschaftliche Raumverhältnisse. Grundlagen und Perspektiven einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Geographie. In *Erwägen, Wissen, Ethik. Forum für Erwägungskultur*. Jg. 24/2013 Heft 1, pp. 3–16.

Werlen, Benno (2014): Globalisierung. In Lossau, J.; Freytag, T.; Lippuner, R.; (Eds.). *Schlüsselbegriffe der Kultur- und Sozialgeographie*. pp. 54-66. Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer.

Werlen, Benno (2017): Action, Knowledge and Social Relations of Space. In Meusberger, Peter; Werlen, Benno; Suarsana, Laura (Eds.). *Knowledge and Action*. pp. 31-56. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.

Uhlmann, Gordon (2007): Hamburg: Kolonialwaren. In Heyden, Ulrich van der (Ed.): *Kolonialismus hierzulande. Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland*. pp. 348-352. Erfurt: Sutton.

Xavier, Glauber Lopes (2013): Ciência e método: o pensamento marxista de Henri Lefebvre. In *CSOnline - Revista Eletrônica de Ciências Sociais* - Juiz de Fora - (16). Available online at https://csonline.ufjf.emnuvens.com.br/csonline/article/view/2651.

Ziemer, Gesa (2013): Komplizenschaft. Neue Perspektiven auf Kollektivität. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Ziemer, Gesa (2014): Urbane Öffentlichkeiten zwischen Kunst und Nicht-Kunst. Kollektive Dynamiken im Laufe der Zeit - am Beispiel des Gängeviertels. In Burri, Pilkington et al. (Eds.). *Versammlung und Teilhabe. Urbane Öffentlichkeiten und performative Künste*. pp. 317-331. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Ziemer, Gesa (2016): Neue Formen der Zusammenarbeit am Beispiel der Hamburger Planbude. In Werner K.; Baier A.; Hansing T.; Müller C. (Eds.). *Die Welt reparieren. Open Source und Selbermachen als postkapitalistische Praxis*. pp. 312-318. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Žižek, Slavoj (2012): O violento silêncio de um novo começo. In *Occupy. Movimentos de protesto que tomaram as ruas,* pp. 15–25. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

List of Interviews

Interview A: Luana, Interview in December 2016, Female, 28 years, Lawyer

Interview B: Bruna, Interview in December 2016, Female, 32 years, Art Professor

Interview C: Ernesto, Interview in December 2016, Male, 35 years, Filmmaker

Interview D: Pedro, Interview in December 2016. Male, 38 years, Filmmaker

Interview E: Chico, Interview in December 2016, Male, 27 years, Journalist

Interview F: Marco, Interview in September 2017, Male, 32 years, Freelance Author

Interview G: Harald, Interview in September 2017, Male, 51 years, Philosopher

Interview H: Irene, Interview in October 2017, Female, 52 years, Filmmaker

Interview I: Marlene, Interview in October 2017, Female, 32 years, Cultural Worker

Interview J: Heike, Interview in October 2017, Female, NA, Cultural Worker

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Prof Dr. Benno Werlen for giving me the opportunity to accomplish this PhD research, for formal and content-related supervision, and the willingness to evaluate this work. I also would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Wendel Henrique Baumgartner for the evaluation of this work, but especially for the constructive, uncomplicated, and extremely useful commentary and criticism on theoretical, methodological, and practical issues. Last but not least, my sincere and heartfelt thanks go to Amanda Halter for the patience as well as the critical comments and competent and conscientious proofreading work.

Selbstständigkeitserklärung

Ich erkläre, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig und unter Verwendung der angegebenen Hilfsmittel, persönlichen Mitteilungen und Quellen angefertigt habe (siehe auch Danksagung).

Jena, den 27.06.2018